184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173 gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet,
● the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among them-]
selves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed
Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, *Les Oulliminden.*

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal
and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. *Les races de l'Afrique* /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
643 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one
651 reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction,
either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in
skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of *tamaa*. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due
from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in
use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called *tobol;* this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum,"
177 "cylinder of a drum."
192]

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 643 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

● [173] Among the Ihăggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Aïtarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihăggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Taĭtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 643 692 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français Afrique noire*, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

2. Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar*, p. 107.

565 /Fr. *race*/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said *elli* (plural, *illellan*) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " *Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire*, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, *amacher*, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes *amajer* (plural, *imajeuren*). As we have already
said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root *amazir*, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. *race*/ as *loumet*.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the
vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in
practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
[422] In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the
Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are
their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances
the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the
invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the
country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a
decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more
"Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment,
as well as less ethnic pride.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds
and are gifted with an intelligence
higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted
posts with the principal chiefs, who
have used them as emissaries or
interpreters, indeed even as
[752] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, aménokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even
individually; they are attached to
a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to
the Tuareg race, they still enter
into the components of the great
family of veiled men, for the lives
/176/ of the two groups are often
intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect,
tenet, which they alone understand
and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the
Ahaggar.

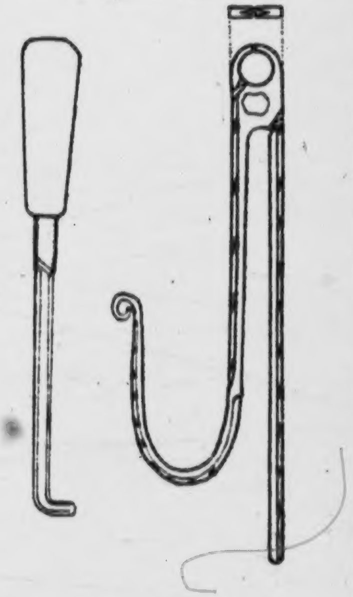

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

● [173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named
Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have
originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who
formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

564 [651] [567] The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and even among some Imochar.

[414 531 326]

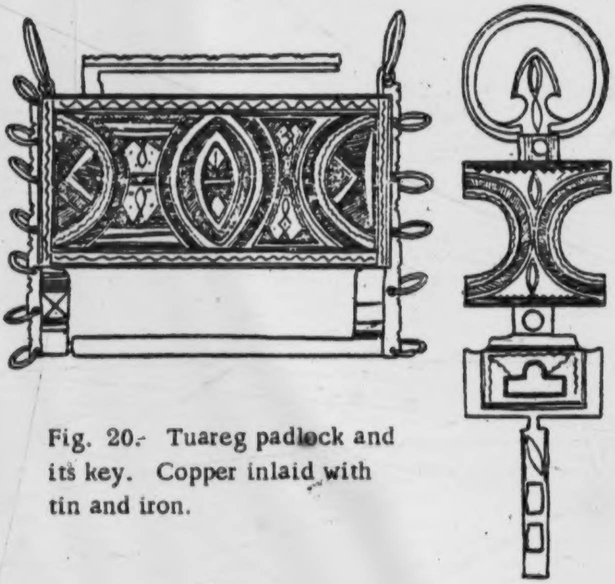

Fig. 20.- Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

/180/ Chapter 2

## Confederation of the Ahaggar

● 173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Ǎdrar des Îforas, known as Tǎdemeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

This tradition is also found among the Ioullimmiden and in all the fractions now camped in the Adrar and on the banks of the Niger, which implies the idea of a common origin in their minds.

Another legend, which originated in Arabic writings, takes the arrival of the Ihǎggaren in their present habitat back to the sixteenth century. Formerly they had been settled in the Ajjer and Fezzan.

As we have already related, the Ahaggar nobles claim, on the one hand, to be of sherif origin descended from the Edrissides of Fez. This claim cannot be believed, except with regard to a few families who contracted alliances with marabouts coming to settle among them. In fact, tradition relates that the Arab sherifs came to settle among the Tuareg after Islamization and established great authority over them. Profiting, then, from the anarchy which reigned there, kept up by the constant rivalry between clans, the sherifs seized power and were able to keep it for a long time. These sherifs belonged to the family of Imenan, "sultan," who founded families by marrying high-born Tuareg women, thus forming a new nobility. They kept their authority for a long time, thanks to the support of an important tribe, the Imanrassâten, descended from the eastern Arabs.

The Imanan /sic/ sultans then grouped the Tuareg of the Ahaggar and the Tassili-n-Ajjer under their authority. But the national character, sharpened by the vitality of the old Berber customs, finally revealed itslef among the Tuareg. As a result of extortion on the part of the Imanan, several tribes revolted /181/ in a show of independence, and an Ajjer noble named Biska from the Oûraren fraction killed the Imenan Sultan Goma. This was the beginning of a series of wars between the Oûraren tribe, which made itself the champion of independence, and the Imanan and their Imanrassâten allies, a fight in which the Oûraren, after battles some favorable and some unfavorable, finally triumphed.

As a result of these events, the suzerainty of the Imanan was henceforth destroyed. The successors of Goma, who still bore the title of aménokal, tried in vain to re-establish their authority during interminable strife.

●173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Oûraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Taîtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Taîtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Taîtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Taîtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihǎggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ǎhaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Taîtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
648 ag Ǎmâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Aziouel,

175 the Taîtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Aït Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Toûnîn, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taîtok still persists today. But since the Taîtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglân, the Ikerremîen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

● 173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hînân, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples, " who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taîtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

173 Another fraction, the Ikerromoïen, was formed meanwhile. The ancestor of this tribe, named Akerromoï, was of guérissouten origin from Aïr, and had married a noble Ahaggar woman, daughter of the tobol; their most famous descendant was Aménokal Moussa ag Ǎmâstan.

As for the Iboglân, their ancestor is a man called Khatita, brother of Sakal, the chief of the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal. He had married a Kel Réla woman.

The Tégéhé-n-ǎgg-Ali gave birth to the Inemba, and their name disappeared with the last men of that old tribe.

According to legends gathered among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, Ti-n-Hînân had seven daughters, three of whom had children who were the forefathers of the present tribes. The first engendered the Iboglân and the Inemba; the second, the Ikerremoïen and the Kel Ehan Mellen; the third, the Kel Rela, the Tǎïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

Let us interpret the legend by saying that descendants of the three daughters of Ti-n-Hînân are found in the different tribes mentioned.

173 According to another legend current in the Ahaggar and reported by Mr. Benhazera, (1) Ti-n-Hînân had three female descendants who were the ancestors of the three principal noble families of the Ahaggar; we do not know how many generations separated them. They are:

Tinirt, the antelope, who was the ancestor of the Inemba

Tahenkat, the gazelle, who was the ancestor of the Kel Rela

Tamerouelt, the doe rabbit or female of the hare, who was the ancestor of the Iboglân

The Kel Rela (alteration of the word Kella) owe their right to the tobol to Kella, a descendant of Tahenkat, who was married to Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir.

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1. _Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar_, p. 92.

173 The Kel Rela have accurately kept the memory of the filiation of their aménokal from Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir down to the present aménokal. Formerly, the filiations were established through the women, but aside from a few of them, their names have been forgotten. This very clear demarcation dating from the seventeenth century indicates a profound modification /186/ in the rules of succession and a pronounced weakening of the absolute matriarchal system.

Succeeding Aménokal Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir (ca. 1750) were the following:

Younès ag Sidi (ca. 1790)
Ag Mama ag Sidi (in 1830)
El Hadj Ahmed ag El Hadj el Bekri (1830-1877)
Ǎitarel ag Mohamed Biska (1877-1900)
Ǎttici ag Ǎmellal, named at the same time as /the following/
Mohamed ag Ourzig (1900-1905)
Moussa ag Ǎmâstan (1905-1920)
Ǎkhamouk ag Yema (1920-1941)
Meslah ag Ǎmyas (1941- )

Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir ag Salah married Kella, great-granddaughter of Tahenkat, herself the daughter of Ti-n-Hînân, the ancestor of the Ahaggar Tuareg. He had nine children, six of them girls, who are the ancestors of all the great present-day families from whom the following aménokal were taken. He is the founder of the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

He died about 1790, after having yielded, or so it seems, to all the demands of the Tǎitok and the Tégéhé-Mellet on the subject of the dividing up of the Imrad. He had to carry on a war with the Tǎitok, but finally conquered them, and peace was made. His two sons then married two Tǎitok women.

Younes ag Sidi succeeded his father. He was the eldest of the children of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. He married a Tǎitok woman by whom he had a son, Améchaoui, who later became amrar of the Tǎitok through the blood of his mother.

173 Ag Mama ag Sidi was the brother of Younès ag Sidi and the second son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Like his brother he married a Tăïtok woman, who bore him a son, Mohamed, who also later became amrar of the Tăïtok. Ag Mama reached the age of 100 before he died.

175 El Hadj Ahmed ag el Hadj Bekri was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through the latter's daughter, Zahra, who was married to El Hadj Bekri from the Ifôra tribe. He was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, being the son of his eldest sister. He had to fight against the Tăïtok, because one of them, Mohamed ag Mama, the son of the preceding aménokal, wanted to succeed him.

During his reign a long war broke out with the Ăjjer, when the Ihăggaren wholeheartedly supported the descendants of the Sultan Imânen. He was killed during this fight.

/187/ Ăïtarel ag Mohamed Biska was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through his third daughter Ăménéna, married to Mohamed Biska of the Tégéhé-Mellet tribe.

In relation to the preceding aménokal, he was his first cousin, the eldest son of his father's sister. He led a very eventful life. He had to fight the Ăjjer over whom he won a great vitory at Edjmidhan, and he was subjected to Tăïtok attacks. Under his aménokalat the Flatters mission was massacred, and he was largely responsible for it.

He died in 1900, leaving a daughter who married Amayas ag Khelbi, by whom she had a son, Meslah, now aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Ăttici ag Ămellal was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, as the eldest son of his second sister. He was named at the same time as his cousin Mohamed ag Ourzig, the eldest son of the eldest daughter of Ăïtarel; the tobol ordinarily would have gone to the latter, but he was old and tired and could not assert his rights. This was a long period of anarchy, for which the Imrad had to bear the consequences, and which ended with the French occupation and the nomination of Moussa ag Ămâstan.

622 631 777 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dǎg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dǎg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Taǐtok, but they remained with the Dǎg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

173 631 The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé. -- The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dǎg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in Aïr and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihǎggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégehé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in Aïr and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

173 631 Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ěfis, went to the Taîtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dǎg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dǎg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dǎg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

[648 669] They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

[233] [651] [423] [241] The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats. Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them, and they have gardens at Ǎmsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to
427 be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen
[175] by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable
lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the
Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands
at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which
was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim
was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not
claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, be-
631 cause they made difficulties in paying the tiouseé.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tǎrhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tǎhifet.

631 The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb
●173 *élouai*, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)
[192]

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dăg Râli and the Kel Âhnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dăg Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 The Aït Loaien pay the *tioussé* to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ăgg-
[651] Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dăg Houa group
pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous
marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the
murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous
in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in
the Ajjer.

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1. According to Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, p. 148.

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ǎdrar des Ifôras and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

[797] 197 [648] Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 563 631 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tăîtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tăzoûlet, the Kel Tăfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 439 484 233 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their camel raising is particularly renowned.

563 [173] The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of. . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

[221] They nomadize in the Tăfedest massif near Ǎdenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tama'la well.

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1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

963 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

[173] /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tǎfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ǎmegal, Déhine, and Ǎbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hǎda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

[162] The Kel Tǎfedest. -- The Kel Tǎfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

## Tobol of the Tăitok

631 The Tăitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tăitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenân sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Tăitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihăggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ăjjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest /The Western Tuareg/, p. 18 (Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tăitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tǎitok raids.

[648] The tobol of the Tǎitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ǎhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ǎhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tǎitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tǎitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ǎhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab [643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ǎhnet. -- The Kel Ǎhnet are of the same origin as the [173] Dǎg Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ǎhnet were bestowed upon the Tǎitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

173 631 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] [233] [241 423] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250 goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin, Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâma'la. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

[173] The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren. They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tǎfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tǎitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tǎitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ǎjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tǎitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[669] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ǎjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tǎitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ǎmastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tǎfedest massif and go up as high as the Ǎdrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

[233 439] Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ǎhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ǎjjer.

•173 631 /210/ When an Ǎjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ǎmastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ǎhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

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[173] 1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dǎg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tǎitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given to Moussa ag Ǎmastan. [233] They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dǎg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tǎitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ǎmastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dǎg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dǎg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ǎjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeĭen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ǎdrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tǎitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

## Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Toûnîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tǎitok while Sidi Mohámed was aménokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 [578] According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihǎggaren and the Ǎjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 648 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ǎmastân.

Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262 237] sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihăggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
● [173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
[173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of
531[] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

797 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in 173 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged [669] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
326 the whole range of human variation between
142 the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

And this brings us to another exasperating
326 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The
174 smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[18] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

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[18] Here the author has laid himself wide open to
[114] a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 173 614 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908, pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp. 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 ● 173 614 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote, 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 614 101 131 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for the most part outside the Ahaggar proper, and are distributed in an arc that curves around its southwestern, western and northwestern borders. The northwestern extremity of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé,"
or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child,"
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V ⊐ , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [52-6]
Rings, "tisseq, " plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to protect 173 their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. 576 In meetings he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may
/48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but
he is still 'iamir'ed,'" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id,
plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by
the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will
see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came
from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble
Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private inheritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules. [428] 611 631

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down "to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/. [114]

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative. [173]

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

## Chapter III

## The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

173 631 The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their independence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/

631 643 We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confederation under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

643 The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents.

[565] As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tioussé." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Aïtar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred.

## Chapter XIII

### Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', 172
Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that 764
cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat, " or like a little turret, or "bazina, " like those found everywhere in North Africa.

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high. 172

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni, " 173●
plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the 764 [192]
Arab word "beni, " building), are those of the "Izabbaren" ⵏ ⵔ ◫ ⵣ . Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵔ ◫ ⵣ , "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Taïtoq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren, " they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors. " It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part.

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still 172
has a circular shape but with the "chouahed, " or markers, custom- 764
ary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat, " or "bazina, " graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves.

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of 172
Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be 173
descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel
Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble
those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why
do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those
of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

[797
174]

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the
Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection
of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north. 114 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitoḳ clan of 174 Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. – Urvoy 1936, p. 150. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraṛen clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitoḳ of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenṛasaten and the Oraṛen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraṛen.

It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers 173 claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid blacksmiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the blacksmith of the Prophet. All traditions relating clans to Islam have been omitted in [128] this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Ṛela. I think this latter tradition gathered by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with 174 the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Ṛela had many quarrels with the Taitoḳ and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves related to the Taitoḳ it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Ṛela (the most important clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

### *The Sultanry of Air.*

175 The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

173 643 According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office.

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used 643 114 for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership".

175 643 In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III,

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging 614
from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. [127]
A clan is generally termed *taousit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm [162]
from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to [196]
the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is [611]
nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to 621
five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these 596
small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season 221
*(gauat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only 361
reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have 621
myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than [173]
nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous 582
marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two 614
clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the 582
composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:–

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that 614
among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by 643
his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-
Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn
Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief
in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat)
(Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their
sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general
we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession
to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given [682]
to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in
detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession [173]
(Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet
(the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal
half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullem- [184]
meden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, [611]
p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom
has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao
property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, [428]
p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is 114
confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm 614
the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the
line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera
1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by
Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has
further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by
the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the 614
proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove
that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's
son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom
claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this
makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to [174]
succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently
adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession
in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to [178]
chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes.
In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often
refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about
the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to
succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

534
778

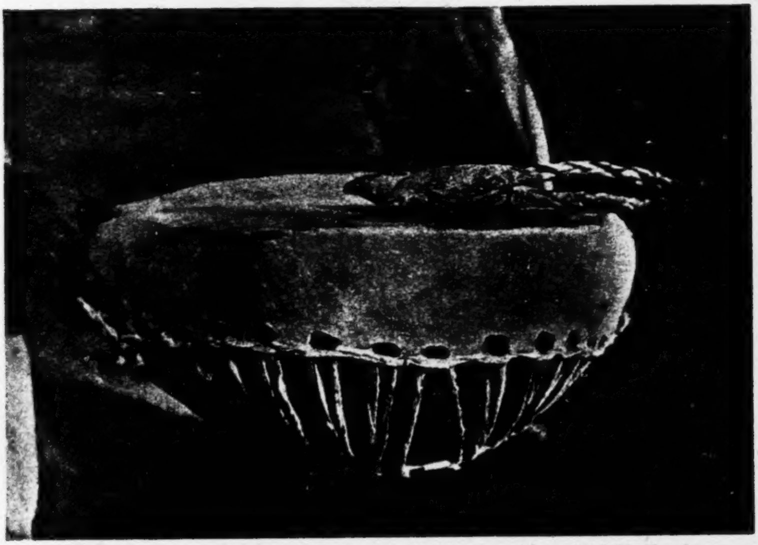

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 [174] past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 [614] [173] The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

[202] The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 534 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959

MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

634
614

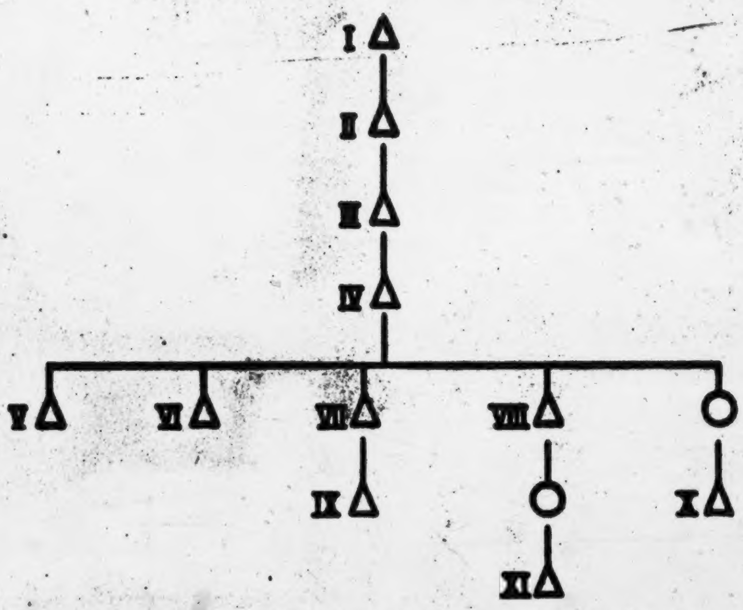

Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, 778 534 and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, 634 as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally [614] the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who [177] after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their 634

173 634 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Ṛali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Ṛali's tomb is 769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Ṛali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to [782] participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the [177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while 175 his father came from the Ifoṛas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Ṛali.

634 *Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Ṛali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Ṛali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerher*, who was the son of Rali.

It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions 634
paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:- 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou | An amount of millet |
| Katsena | |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The
present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land [423]
belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps
to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:- 1) The pay- [174]
ments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tiouss* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113).

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum- 173
group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:- The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan.

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterized as simple, 634
all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans.

634
It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 614

Ahaggar
Air

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, 565
Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century 192
A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hewwara*
has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his [114]
opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas
1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words
can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* [194]
when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes
with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 333).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imγad* (sing. *Amγid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1833f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *eγeid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imγad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with
goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, [233]
which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels [721]
were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the
main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from
foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and
noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct [174]
cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already
seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel- [233]
breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys.

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about 173
the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in liter- 565
ature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 333ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar

173 565 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 565 492 [234] Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 565 [583] [422] [342] Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

[614] [173] These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 184 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

172 /40 cont./ isolated gara /butte/, or on the slopes of a larger hill. One hardly ever sees them in the Ahaggar; the area in which these crescents are found extends toward the south of the central massif, beyond the large regs; a great many are found in the Adrar des Iforas and in the southern tassilis. It may be that they are manifestations of a civilization different from that of the central Ahaggar.

Oral Traditions

172 173 The Tuareg know that before their arrival a people called the Issabaten existed in the Ahaggar. These people had a social system /41/ of castes and were ignorant of the camel. The Issabaten were unintelligent, and their stupidity is still proverbial today. The Tuareg say that they never had any conflict with these gentle and calm beings. Some of the Issabaten, no doubt of a higher caste, must have been cleverer, for tradition still conserves the name of Amamellen and of his nephew Elias, who reputedly were the founders of rock art. These people had no religion -- this must be understood to mean that they were not Moslems.

No one has yet been able to translate the ancient inscriptions in tifinagh characters that are found rather frequently. The Tuareg maintain that the inscriptions are in a language different from their own, although written with the same characters; some Tuareg believe that the inscriptions are in code, with the letters transposed within the words, and that whoever is able to decipher them will learn where treasures are hidden.

172 174 It is certain that a civilization with paleolithic techniques existed in the Ahaggar during a humid period, probably at the edge of lakes or around the drainage basins into which the large wadis (Tanezrouft: Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaîne, Tafassasset) emptied. There is every reason to believe that

172 /42 cont./ made pots decorated with line drawings. These
174 peoples, with a neolithic culture, could have come to the Ahaggar from the south and the east, but some groups could have come by way of the Igharghar Valley, driving their cattle before them. The tribal chiefs were aged men, masters of magic rites; they knew how to cast spells and used esoteric signs. Some were veritable artists in engraving and sculpture.

Later, there is reason to believe, white populations from Libya settled in the Ahaggar, bringing with them heliolithic customs from the Mediterranean shores, such as megalithic monuments, the sun and serpent cults, cranial deformation, the caste system. The paintings in the Tefedest clearly represent Negro shepherds, but the new paintings of the Takecherouelt wadi show people of a white race, tall and thin.

Should we consider these whites to be the ancestors of the /43/ present-day Tuareg? It would be premature to think this, but they may have been the first wave of Berbers to come to the Ahaggar. Their exodus may have been remembered by the nomadic Berber tribes who, later, camel owners, fled for various reasons before Roman and Arab promiscuity, and rediscovered the route of the neolithic whites to the Ahaggar.

The chronology of the protohistory is difficult to establish. However, a certain number of documents on this period exist. In the first place, we have the results of archaeological research, from the excavation of pre-Islamic monuments, particularly that of Tin-Hinan (cf. the book by M. Reygasse on the pre-Islamic funerary monuments).

The Tuareg have a certain number of oral traditions
•173 concerning this period. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the "cameline" age give us only very sketchy information: the oldest are untranslatable, and the most recent offer very little of interest; they are limited to the expression of the admiration of a man for a woman, or to arranging rendezvous.

173 /43 cont./ The Latin, Greek, and Arab texts that have come down to us give rise to very diverse interpretations and are, in any case, extremely fragmentary.

It seems acceptable to put the beginning of this period, as far as the Ahaggar is concerned, at about the time of the Punic Wars, and to end it on February 16, 1881, date of the massacre of the Flatters mission. From that date on, the Ahaggar enters into history properly speaking.

The protohistory of the Ahaggar poses the question of the origin of the Tuareg, a question which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. They are probably Berbers coming from different tribes, who could have crossed with a white population already settled in the Ahaggar. What characterizes the Tuareg, aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span /envergure/ often greater than their height, smooth or wavy black hair, the rarity of hairiness, is the unity of the language, the use of tifinagh characters, and a way of life with particular customs which has succeeded in assimilating tribes of Arab origin, such as the Issakamaren.

/44/ The Tuareg pass on orally the legendary story of Tin Hinan, said to be the "mother," ancestress of the Kel Rela nobles, who know no masculine ancestor, although some say he was French (an affirmation to be regarded with suspicion and certainly of recent origin).

Tin Hinan supposedly came from Tafilalet, but no one knows why she came to the Ahaggar, accompanied by her servant woman Takamat, ancestress of the Dag Rali.

[565] The story, which neglects the male ancestor, must be regarded as the expression of the Tuareg tradition which calls for the transmission of the rights of nobility through the women.

The /early/ Tuareg must have possessed camels, for Tin Hinan rode a white female camel. Did they join, either as guides or protectors, caravans going to the north? We may think this, for the excavations of Tin Hinan's tomb by M. Reygasse uncovered funerary furniture which included objects of Roman origin.

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Aḥaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Aḥaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were
joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaṛen*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual,
speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaṛen* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaṛen* (sing. *Azeggaṛ*)
refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaṛen* does not seem to
exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren*
apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar
claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W' Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
[144] europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may
possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineḍen* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ěned*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their
weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg
women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one.
People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make
[162] hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very
numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This
myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths
in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963).
A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told
about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected
by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Temenṭiṭ in Tawat.
At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.).
2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed
Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that
most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg
173 questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the
792 country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many
601 Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Éwey*
184 group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

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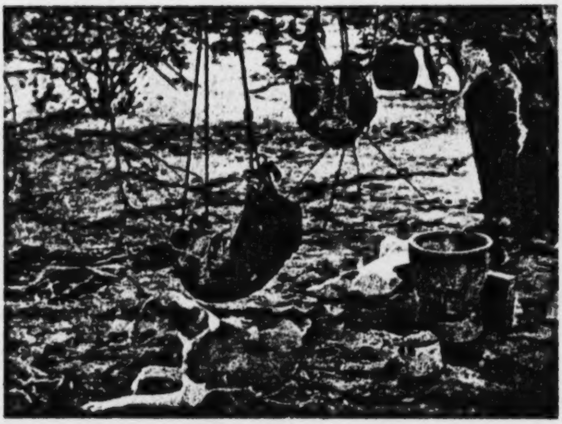

Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). [173] The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing, [224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[171] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and [521] [541] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955,
p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *aṛudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It
is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-mellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in
Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [432]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate
for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

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475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
241 for them to be garden owners.
434 The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread
to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge.
According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the
Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should
be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies
greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak
the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife,
and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year.
Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to
[171] about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by
the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month,
or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration
511 office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example:
During the year 1954–55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with
an *ạril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and
three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them
to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their
behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there
are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet
Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but
to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

513 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
[162] language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
[197] various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
[433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
[173]

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*éndé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people
of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been
founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post,
which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the
women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a
few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonṛay* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 162 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonṛay-speaking people of
563 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweṛen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
433 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
245 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
221 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
463

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
144 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
433 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
[174]

177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
[162] from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
[186] but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
[191] of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
[648] knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower
[167] officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according
[173] to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chamba* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are 174 very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, [173] but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-* [121] *Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also [411] the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do [224] not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Ṛat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 [253] Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *taŗahamt* (Ahaggar) or *taŗajamt* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 174 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. Ruins
● [173] at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 × 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 172 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Éherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 172 174 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest house-ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silet, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).
*342 174 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 101
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adṛaṛ*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and
the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademecket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ġanet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraṛen*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraṛen*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraṛen*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the
original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that
normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan*
tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal*
[423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident,
as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any
ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88).
However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in
the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently
did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel*
●173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said
631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the
614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past
that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage.
Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman
of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to
this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when
175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's
631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the
614 Tasilé around Ĝanet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the
*Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest
[566] of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position
as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to
them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues
[651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same
rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan
[643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided
between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the
*Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily
614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much
642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political
institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the
*Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*,
to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to
the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal
tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* 565
and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes. 614
642

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ġanet and Ṛat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*eṭṭebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader 643
of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that 614
the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf sup- 721
ported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Ifoṛas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. 565
It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* 614
possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had 613
particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief 173
*Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. 614
The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost 642
nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of 643
*Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*.
During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the 173
noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Téġehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between 565
them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day 614
claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the 642
ancestress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Téġehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
142 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were
later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téǧehé Mellet*. The *Iseḳḳemaren*, as we shall
see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern
Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag
Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Téǧehé Mellet* is most
interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some
of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Téǧehé
Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the
*Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes,
but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups
of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals
took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted
to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Téǧehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically
important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téǧehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téǧehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
[534] so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch
the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum
must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the
supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war
upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Téǧehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally
used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of
*Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *téǧehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would
ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Téǧehé Mellet*
were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
[565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Iseḳḳemaren*
class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day,
was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a
vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to
install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs,
but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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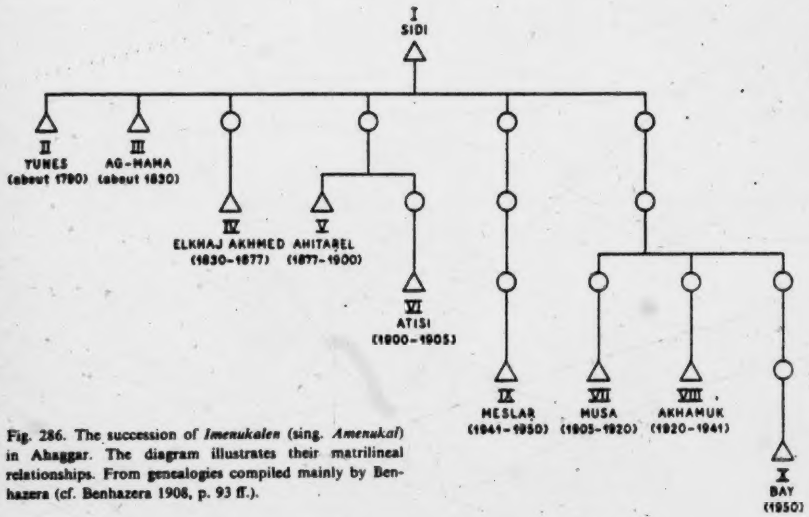

Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their 631
groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter 634
was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the 643
supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come 643
to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the 634
three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by
vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [789]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

173 was the servant girl of *Ti-n-Hinan*. These two women settled in Ahaggar which was almost uninhabited. 515 But in the mountainous parts of the country there lived a pagan people named *Isebeten*, who were goat-breeders and hunters. *Ti-n-Hinan* settled at the oasis of Abalessa not far from Silet, and she was buried in a huge tomb close to Abalessa, while her servant-girl *Takama* was buried in a small tomb not far from the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan*.

*Ti-n-Hinan* became the ancestress of the two noble tribes *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* who are matrilineally related. According to traditions collected by Benhazera, it seems as if two other noble tribes, namely *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Téġehé Mellet* also descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (Benhazera 1908, p. 90 ff.). This disagrees with my own information and also with that of Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 536). The two latter tribes are said to be of different origin, while the noble Tuareg of the *Iwllemmeden* descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s younger brother.

*Takama* had two daughters, the elder of whom became the ancestress of the noble tribe *Ihaḍanaren* who now live mainly in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, though a few individuals camp in Ahaggar. The tribe is considered noble but has never had vassals. The younger daughter of *Takama* became the ancestress of the two vassal tribes the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Ayt Lowayen*, and also of the *Kel Ahnet* which was originally united with the *Dag Ṛali*.

The tradition of the descent of noble Tuareg and vassals from *Tin-n-Hinan* and *Takama* as outlined above is admitted as true among most Ahaggar Tuareg, though the vassals claim that *Takama* was the younger sister of *Ti-n-Hinan* and not her servant-girl. And they claim that the superior position of the noble tribes is due to this fact, as any person must always pay respect towards elder brothers and sisters.

The tradition is told in a somewhat expanded edition by Foucauld:— After the immigration of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* their descendants who then constituted the tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Dag Ṛali*, and *Ayt Lowayen* lived in Ahaggar alone for a very long time. They were very few in number and had no camels. They subsisted mainly by goat-breeding and hunting. They never travelled outside Ahaggar, and had no knowledge of other places such as Tidikelt, Ayr, and Adṛaṛ of the Ifoṛas. It then happened that the two noble tribes *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Téġehé Mellet* penetrated into Ahaggar. They conquered and burned down the agricultural settlement of Ennedid which was a centre of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. The *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg then assembled at the village of Tahart to fight their invading enemies. They succeeded in killing most of the *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Téġehé Mellet* Tuareg and took their camels. From then onwards the Ahaggar Tuareg became camel-breeders, began to travel outside of Ahaggar, and grew in number (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 536).

*Tradition B.II.* A variation of the tradition about the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* has been recorded by Lehureaux as follows:— *Ti-n-Hinan* came from Tafilelt to Ahaggar riding on a white camel and accompanied by her faithful companion *Takama* and a certain number of slaves. From their homeland, the country of the *Beraber*, they had brought with them many loads of dates and millet. But the road to Ahaggar was a very long one, and the caravan became seriously threatened by hunger. However, one day *Takama* discovered a great many ant hills, and assisted by the slave women she collected all the seeds which the ants had stored. *Takama* gave these seeds to *Ti-n-Hinan* who remained sitting on her camel as she was of noble descent. By means of these

seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* 173
and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the 565
noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal clans from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the
noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition 172
should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal 173
remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26 × 24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinar* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail. has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Joluta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders
were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition 173
contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day
it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It 148
seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

*Tradition C.I.* This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:— 173

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. 565
tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a

173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
565 cauld 1951–52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten*
people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their
supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found
in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides,
two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali*
tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe
descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten*
formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten*
were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient
*Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so
as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect
the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according
to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no
reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésẹbet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali*
tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending
from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had
[114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali*
tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a,
[428] p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said
to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
565 *known by the name Kel Ulli, that is "the goat people", or by the name Imṛad which perhaps also*
refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas
[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly
around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly
[229] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this
ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from
565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in
Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from
Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim
that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the
large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible
that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

173 Tuareg traditions of origins must always be regarded with some suspicion. It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fakes, and they have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Ayr. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the *Kel Ferwan*. There are traditions giving Awjila as their homeland, and I have very frequently been told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the *Kel Ṛela*. I do not think this latter tradition contains much historical truth though it may reflect political relations of the past. The *Kel Ferwan* apparently were on quite good terms with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The *Kel Ṛela* had many quarrels with the *Taytoḳ* and also with the *Kel Faday*, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the *Kel Ferwan*. As the *Kel Faday*, perhaps for political reasons, claimed themselves related to the *Taytoḳ* it may have been quite natural for the *Kel Ferwan* (the most important tribe in Ayr) to claim relationship to the *Kel Ṛela* (the most important tribe of Ahaggar).

It is often said in Ayr that the dominant noble tribes of most Tuareg groups are related to one another through daughters of the same mother. The Sultan says that there were originally six sisters who became the ancestress of the following noble Tuareg:— The *Kel Ferwan*, the *Kel Faday*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Itésen*, the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Imanγasaten*. The *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg, on the other hand, have no relationship to these Tuareg but according to the Sultan are "children of the *Kel Asuf* spirits". The story of the descent of the important noble Tuareg of Ayr from a certain number of sisters is told in variations within the different tribes and groups. People of the *Kel Ferwan* group exclude the *Kel Faday* and claim that once in the past the noble *Kel Faday* tribe was a vassal tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and people of the vassal tribes *Kel Aḳerra*, *Imezzureg*, *Isakaranan*, and *Kel Tédalé*, the members of which claim noble descent, hold that they descend from a daughter of the ancestress of the important noble Tuareg tribes.

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin which have important political functions, but oral traditions may contain some historical verity. Most traditions mentioned point to a north-eastern origin of the Ayr Tuareg – to Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and to the oasis of Awjila. It is also interesting that there are more general traditions, according to which all Ayr Tuareg ultimately came from a country named *Elbarbar* situated towards the east. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Ayr leads to the oasis of Ṛat, to Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In the past the important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo went over Gao, Agadez, Ṛat, Murzuk, Awjila, and Siwa.

## THE SULTANRY OF AYR

175 643 *The Agadez Chronicle* referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the *Aγumbulu*, supreme chief of the *Itésen* federation, therefore took the initiative in electing a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found 175
him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* 643
(Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Aṛrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office.

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Fro- [645]
benius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this 178
assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the 643
first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan.

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a 175
nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at 643
Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the [203]
middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164).

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had 173
the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry 643
the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izṛan* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to

173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the
remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter
to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he
was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes
protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore
be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before
the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which
is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma
salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor
for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the
Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility,
which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the
Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within
Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg.
Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like
(Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only
reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now
lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned
and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the
important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been
closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living
at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[189] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Imnikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Imnikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwllemmeden* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[173] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480).
My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my
list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each
with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past
are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging
from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French
in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum-group
a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who
seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly
correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

● 173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel*
married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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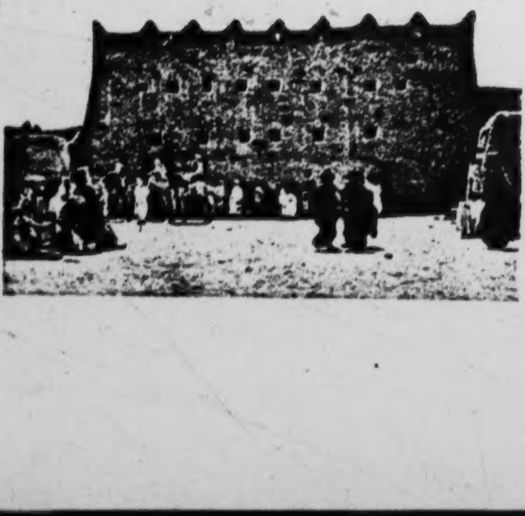

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agades. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614

634 The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeṛezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameṛit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeṛezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

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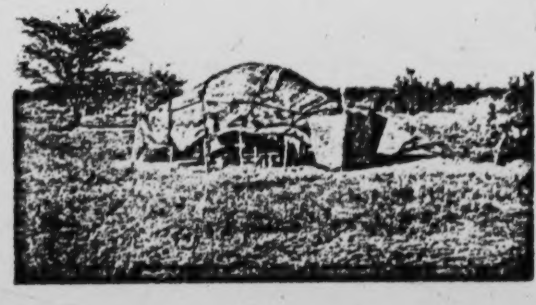

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

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| *Kel Ewey* | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *aɣezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amɣar* or *aɣolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt.* | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen.* | Afarak |
| *Ifoḳḳar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten.* | Eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikawkan* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel.* | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendéynen.* | Tafadek |
| *Ifoṛas*<br>(2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adṛaṛ of the Ifoṛas about one hundred years ago. | Tédeyin |
| *Iṛawélen* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel.* They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | |

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To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be 634 succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan.* Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum- 634 chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

173 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum
634 was made of iron, they say.

*Amenukal*, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

*Mokhammed Aman*, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

*Elkarebi*, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

*Bubeker*, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

*Ṛali*, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French
arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is
[764] remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Ṛali*'s tomb is south
of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps.
634 On *Ṛali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in
769 which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who there-
[782] upon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil
on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased
chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but
has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Ṛali* was considered a member
of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from
634 the *Ifoṛas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of
the preceding drum-chief *Ṛali*.

*Wanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanu*, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

*Kutiya*, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Ṛali*'s younger brother.

*Agg-Elkhir*, of pure noble origin being the son of *Ṛali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

*Azeṛor*, who was the son of *Ṛali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

*Bukha*, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeṛor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Ṛali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people
[171] of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet
1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use
of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding
she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned
that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have
also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem
that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact
that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though
they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may
be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations,
[492] while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for
camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels,
but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are
culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels,
alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for
donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by
the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not
refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture 174
which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development [121]
of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were
apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg 173
traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only
goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeolo- 172
gists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we
may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is [173]
claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg,
and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950,
p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type 172
are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern 171
Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adṛaṛ of Tawa, Adṛaṛ of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is 121
intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

# 174

**174 HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION**--inferences as to origins, migrations, contacts, prehistory and culture history from various types of evidence (e.g., anthropometry and language); etc. See also:

Historical research . . . . . . . . . . . . 814

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different
caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg,
whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

According to some authors, the caste system is specifically
171 Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as
well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds , religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklân). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

● 174 The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to
182 get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

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1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

174
182 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
565 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
[554 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated
among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. *La conquête du Sahara*, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 601 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 591 [851] 768 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her,

000 586 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an
Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes
which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation.
It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has
written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

174 In their case we are confronted at the present time by a
matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
562 ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
178 her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
611 man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
554 Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's
position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
584 matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on
choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
421 free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes,
and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy
among the Tuareg.

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1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

● 174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leatherwork. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/, " _L'Afrique_, _Cahiers d'art_, 1931.

428 Among the Ihăggaren, the wife wills her social and political
554 rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is
a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the
622 first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political
622 succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue. " (2)

2. _Voyages et découvertes en Afrique_ /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinân, maternal ancestor of the Ihăggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman
named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the
elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official
[562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the
guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is
[626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an
Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored
182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional
515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of
643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").
[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme
chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes.
[184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of
fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

565 [651] [582] [641] from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time refusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions. [184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. [582] These /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

[192] They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 565 793 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 565 793 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too frequent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/ marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after [illegible] time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
*Les noms des tribus Touaregs*
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 793 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier [144] [142] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

565 631 793 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated any political role in the administration of the confederation in order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than
he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifôra were pillaged
themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to
seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper
than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact,
they are generally quite ignorant.

/164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their
[594] chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving,
they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and
disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us,
in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tădemaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.

797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base
of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they
preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifôra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tădemeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from
the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents.
They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
[181] other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen
[701] are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

563 [174] [701] [793] There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

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1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Oûraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds
and are gifted with an intelligence
higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted
posts with the principal chiefs, who
have used them as emissaries or
interpreters, indeed even as
[752] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, aménokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even
individually; they are attached to
a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to
the Tuareg race, they still enter
into the components of the great
family of veiled men, for the lives
/176/ of the two groups are often
intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect,
tenet, which they alone understand
and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the
Ahaggar.

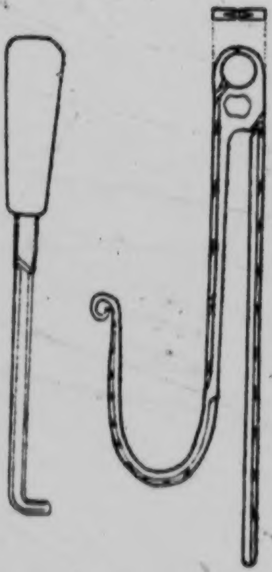

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named
Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have
originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who
formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

174 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century.
564 It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire
[301] [531] and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North
[171] Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

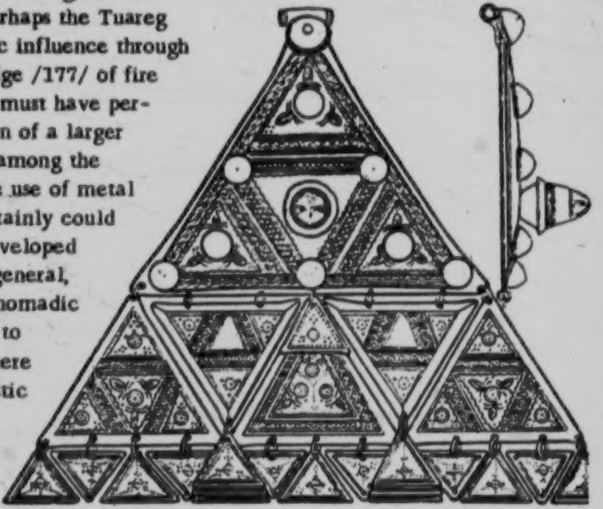

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [727] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Ifôras

252
825 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/

## Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

000 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136
174 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132]
224 Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

/249/

## Chapter 6

## Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a
country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we ob-
serve that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making
their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has
evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the norther-
[184] ern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example
that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg
among the great herders.

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living con-
[167] ditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their
swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the
Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving
and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban
groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy.
With these reservations, however, they have brought with them
some elements of cultural civilization which have played a con-
siderable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan.

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their
herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a
large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties
imposed on them by caring for the animals.

[184] This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian
regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg.
The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the
Sahara could not support such flocks.

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think
about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 233 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara," (1) has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

## 1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10,000 head.

[132] [492] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting [361] twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is why the Ihăggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

232 Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese-bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular
breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken
of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked
with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck,
cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It
stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
● [174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa.
Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity
in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with
its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid
rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the
Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today
it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

233 The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence, as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihăggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In
the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often
crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262 237] sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number
of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
[172] nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 ● [174] that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihăggaren have
kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
*chêga*, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is re-
placed by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of
Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and
can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name *toukourdi*, which has been
[436] adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as ex-
change currency for commercial transactions.

291 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
● 174 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the
need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not
sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something
else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost
in the night of time and which is kept up without their really know-
ing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that
they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego
wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part
of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are
291 local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the
chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is
832 a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who
live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must
lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and ma-
terial preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the
nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have
for working these different raw materials, we notice that their
enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation
325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations
463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and
564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg
industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto.
In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the
●[174] Enaden with their social
organization, that they
used metals. Therefore,
[415 we perceive the considerable
531] role which artisans must
have played in technical
evolution and that of art
itself.

/277/ The presence
of Enaden in the camps has
reduced the manual labor
[322] of the Tuareg, but the
latter are still able to make
wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

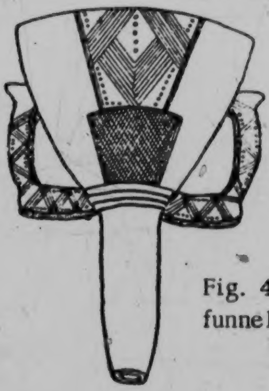

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high
462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means
322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad,
431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we
found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-
women, of taménokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects
were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re-
[174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual
labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must former-
ly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the
creation of the artisan class.

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to
put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal
exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the
[756] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent,
giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go
near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces
herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby
falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose.
The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby
in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure
he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in
[856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow,
and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape.
[174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is
no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a
sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant
846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is
made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new
mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl.
[842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to congratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to
[562] see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under
[751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which
are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby
has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her
husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her
brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the
first time.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and
tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says
[756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price,
makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words
in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the
water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices
are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid.
[278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of
adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative,
the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Al-
though these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some-
[797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some-
848 times punished severely.

The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African
174 Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women
among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived
and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is
understandable that young men and women do not care to marry
early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men,
before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she
still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand,
[593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her
to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form
a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's
father through one of his parents or through a religious person if
there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihăggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but
in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of
the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the
[587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no
longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats,
or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid
all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the
parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's
[421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or
decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the
marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
[184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and
the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers
and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents,
where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During
the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé
does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then
takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company.
During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage
festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass
back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the
tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the
Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
[174] "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where
the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

114 175 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians. [531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the 192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have 174 been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 797 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

[173
530] We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797
173 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

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1. *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that
life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave
different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
● [174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps
Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the
centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly
related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs;
only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

824 Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited
by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones
every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already
pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed
retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the
state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement
which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious
beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation
of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and
make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of
animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The
uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several
ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There
is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

660 The subtropical zone is Negro country. The Egyptians were well aware of that, and they drew much profit from this distant neighbor. Their Pharaohs did not hesitate to send military expeditions to bring back gold, ivory, ostrich plumes, and human livestock! The North African inhabitants were not ignorant of it either, and soon the riches of the Sudan were a fact known by all. Great caravan routes grooved the whole Sahara from north to south.

174
487 Their trail seems to have bypassed the Ahaggar. We do not know the real reasons for this, but we can guess them. The mountain must have been avoided because of the obstacles it presented, its altitude and the rocky nature of the ground. The shortest trail which follows a north-south direction therefore cannot pass through the Ahaggar but can run along beside it. That is what happened. The reputation as brigands and highway robbers which the Tuareg enjoyed is perhaps not irrelevant to this turning away of the caravan trails either.

487
[139] /311/ The great arteries which furrow the immediate approaches of the Ahaggar tie important oases together. They were able to prosper because of the fact that these oases participate directly in the life of the Tuareg and because the Tuareg need them to ensure their food supplies.

The largest and most frequented trail is the one connecting the oases of the Touat and Tidikelt to the city of Agadez. For the Ihǎggaren this is the granary route: dates at the Tidikelt, millet in the Sudan. It takes 40 days to go from Akabli to Agadez, and the Ahaggar is halfway between. There is a mountain near the guelta /well? Ed. / of Outoul located 18 kilometers west of Tamanrasset which the Arabs call Ounous and which marks exactly half the way. This trail is, in fact, used by the Arabs, for whom the Sudan is an attraction. They gain very great benefits from these transactions, and everyone's dream is to be able to take a caravan to the Sudan, whence he hopes to return a rich man.

After leaving In-Salah the trail crosses the Ahaggar through the Arak gorges, reaches Lower Koudia at I-n-Ǎmegel, passes to

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of [648 312 201] course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every [174] plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions,

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a leash in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

It is not unnatural to jump to the conclu-
121 sion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote
611 (1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that
the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were
●[174] exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal
as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 142 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 174 And this brings us to another exasperating blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are disappearing fast. 614

565 173 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

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[114] [13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 614 101 131 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 ●174 563 [797] There have probably never been many Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father
was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic
Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the
potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship
of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the
Teda has been discussed above, in the section
dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still
retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious
practices and doctrine of their animistic
ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least
nominally, but are not very pious as a rule.
It has been said that the Tuareg once had a
Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th
and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57),
but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if
indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course
of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan,
is not very generally observed, although in
the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta
(Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar
Tuareg suspended raiding operations during
this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar
Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi
have built up a substantial following
in the region during the last 70 years or so,
much aided in this by Tuareg who passed
through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage
to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahaggar
778 have been to Mecca in recent times, although
Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single
group of roughly 150 of them pass through
Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819
(before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually
been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the
Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of
this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early
years of the present century. There are indications
that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains
may have been vested with religious as
well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Desert
648 has done much to stimulate the Islamization
797 of the Tuareg in general during the last

143 curiously enough, seem to be slightly less "pure" in this respect. The latter group, however, has a very low incidence of *B*, which is another typically Berber character and suggests, moreover, a relatively low degree of negroid admixture.

The Ajjer Tuareg are the only people of the Sahara who have been examined for blood group factors other than those of the *ABO* series, and they have been tested in addition only for gross *Rh* positive and negative reactions. The results of these tests indicate that the Saharan Tuareg have an extremely high incidence of *Rh* —, comparable to what one finds among Moroccan Berbers. Kabyles too have moderately high *Rh* — percentages, which, however, do not appear to exceed those of Arabic-speaking groups of Morocco and northern Algeria (Briggs, 1955b, p. 112). This latter situation is due probably to the fact that speakers of Berber and Arabic have intermingled extensively over the last 900 years in most of Barbary, excepting the more remote mountain districts of Morocco. Tuareg of the Aïr, which lies south of the Ahaggar and outside of the Sahara proper, have a very low incidence of *Rh* —, indicating extensive negroid admixture which has, nevertheless, had surprisingly little effect on their outward appearance.

In closing our discussion of Tuareg serology, we may add that the typically Berber combination of very high *O*, low *B* and very high *Rh* — finds a striking parallel among the Basques, who live in the mountainous frontier country that lies between France and Spain. We are still in no position, however, even to make a guess as to what this extremely curious coincidence may mean.

174 [114] The possible origins of the Tuareg have been discussed far more extensively and by more authors than those of any other Saharan people. Barth (1857–58), Duveyrier (1864), Rodd (1926), Lhote (1955) and Blanguernon (1955), to mention only a few, have devoted dozens of pages to the subject. But their original sources consisted only of the writings of Classical and Mediæval Arab historians and travelers, whose verbose, obscure and contradictory statements hardly allow of any broad deductions above the level of rough guesswork, and of the traditions of the Tuareg

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open,
172 to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig.
174 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

144 The question of the racial origin of the
Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so
intimately bound up with the problem of their
origin in the broader sense which we have just
been discussing that there is not much left for
us to say about it separately. The learned
144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had
174 their say, but we have seen that their conclu-
sions rest on evidence which is unavoidably
[114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well,
since there is no other kind available at present.
As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc
(1928–29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly
spectacular but risky sport of skating over
such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter
who the dreamer may have been. We are already in substantial agreement with the opinion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg
came into the Sahara probably from the North
and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

144 tian Era, and we had better let it go at that for
the time being. There are indications in the
174 mythology of the Tuareg that they were already Berber-speakers when they arrived in their present homeland. There are vague hints too, in the tales of Herodotus as well as in the serology of the Teda, that people something like those whom we now call Berbers may have been living in the eastern half of the Sahara for centuries before the birth of Christ, but whether or not they could have qualified as Tuareg, or even Berbers, in the sense in which we have been using those terms, is about as moot a question as one could hope to find. More and much fuller studies of physical morphology, blood groups and linguistics would go far toward helping us to solve the mystery of the Tuareg, but in the meantime our hands are tied.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

*by*

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

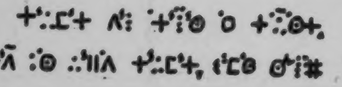
977 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

29: 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

3: Holiday J-5 [illegible]a. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 174 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail [714] and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the [411] Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, 194 the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike 212 Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the 174 task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



[539]

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. 771 From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. [101] To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of [932] the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from 567 the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal 61 groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen 565 through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are 567 free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. [291] The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, 177 consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities. 533

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but
he is still 'iamir'ed,'" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n-Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more. 534 565

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule. 534 565 643

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had. [558]

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by meaning the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela. " 534 565 631

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs said, ما ادري ايّ الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1). [192]

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism. [174 797]

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1. Arab-French dictionary by A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree 776
called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⴲⵊⵜ in 824
Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they 789
must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark.

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal 776
has had its throat cut.

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 177 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles 565
would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is 825
called "ar'ata" • ⵜ ⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat 773
it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the 784
uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in [821]
the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head."

this doctrine, the scholar Dozý tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

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1. *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*, by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349. Neither mosques nor muezzins are found in Tuareg country. See also *l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale* /History of North Africa/, by E. Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1. [171]

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east. They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilometers from there, and we were shown it in passing. The breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah, son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the throne?

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel
Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble
those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why
do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those
of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles)
there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

[342]

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 1747]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The
Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint,
and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble
or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on
Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I
was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the
Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection
of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do 136
not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I [132]
wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an [137]
important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all [144]
over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the [74]
north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to
have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all [567]
negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the
Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens [167]
for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as [177]
*efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), [312]
but the solid houses built of mud *(tafahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases
were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. [342]
Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before
or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of [312]
weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular
types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi- [342]
subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not
descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants [567
of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral
Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country [144]
anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-
skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy [114]
that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa
(Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* [103]
to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg,
and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa [192]
words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of 563
Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while 601

**5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959**

**MS25 Tuareg MS25**
Ahaggar
Air

563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8–9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(taframt)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(techira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachamt)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). 177 312 They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anu)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(afoudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 19[illegible], p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

Ahaggar
Air

241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather
● [174] think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little
millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms
by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively
easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that
a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important
to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere
agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many
agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens
as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few
years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather
shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of
a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as
further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting
cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944,
p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered
by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940,
p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact
unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally
used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat
and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be
known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd
1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
144 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly
563 as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of
Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions
of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the
Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly
negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old
vocabulary.

### *Tuareg Invasions into Air.*

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. – Gsell 1920–28, I–VIII – Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly
[127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan
[114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936. – Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. – Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. – Palmer 1936. – Urvoy 1936. – Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zaraoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zaraoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result
[614] that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamakou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

Ibrazouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen 174 clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united [614] into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Aṛombolou* was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emekki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the massif where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damergou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damergou, partly in Air.

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aouidjila (Aujila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aouidjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aouidjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Oraṛen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Iferouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Iferouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as 114 their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania 174 (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the Oraṛen clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating Kel Ṛela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress in named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas.

5: Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north.
114 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitoḳ clan of
174 Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. – Urvoy 1936, p. 150. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 472).
Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraṛen clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitoḳ of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenṛasaten and the Oraṛen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraṛen.

It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers
173 claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem
to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid black-
smiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the black-
smith of the Prophet. All tra[illegible]ons relating clans to Islam have been omitted in
[128] this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we
can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious
case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or
Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came
from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Ṛela. I think this latter tradition gathered
by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political
relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with
174 the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Ṛela
had many quarrels with the Taitoḳ and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg
again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves
related to the Taitoḳ it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most
important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Ṛela (the most important
clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that 614
among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by 643
his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar
immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn
Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief
in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat)
(Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their
sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general
we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession
to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given [682]
to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in [173]
detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession
(Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet
(the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal
half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden [184]
Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, [611]
p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom
has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao
property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, [428]
p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is 114
confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm 614
the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the
line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera
1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by
Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubief has
further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by
the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the 614
proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove
that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's
son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom
claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this
makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to [174]
succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently
adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession
in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to [178]
chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes.
In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often
refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about
the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to
succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

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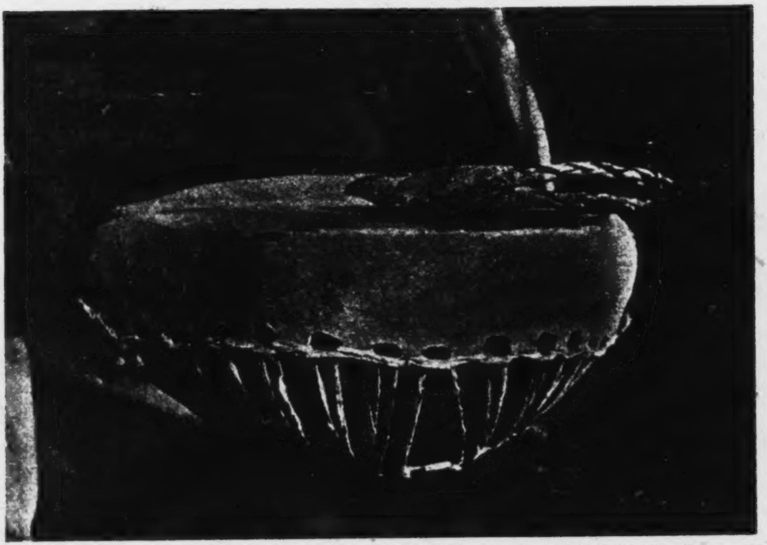

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's
son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned,
[174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also
in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can
be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and
that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel
[614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as
[173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married,
tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group
[202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there
were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should
be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel.
778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is
534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic
power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged
with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:- 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou | An amount of millet |
| Katsena | |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land [423] belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:- 1) The payments [174] may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tiouse* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113).

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum- 173 group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:- The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan.

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterized as simple, 634 all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans.

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

Ahaggar

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship 614
between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Ṛela
(275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived [162]
seven generations ago. The Dag Ṛali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist [565]
of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to
be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous 613
vassal clan Aġouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common 614
matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage
of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four
generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much 114
importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his 611
statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal
principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are
probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence [177]
from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are 611
identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the
back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in
others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be [591]
described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession
to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered [428]
indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations [631]
towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children 428
inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice
as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually
owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned
respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The
acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general
rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other [422]
domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait [174]
that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their
matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people 614
of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather
complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the
territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he 591
will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself 768
belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may
in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is
illustrated in fig. 10.

Ahaggar
Air

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, 565 Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century 192 A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his [114] opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* [194] when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 333).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imɣad* (sing. *Amɣid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52,III, p. 1233f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *eɣeid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imɣad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, [233] which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels [721] were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct [174] cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel- [233] breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys.

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about 173 the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature 565 (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

Ahaggar
Air

1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 237). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 [174]

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

171 342 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:– The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; ● [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain 171 233 342 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove. The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distributions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 171 342 192 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for 171
important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 342
227f.). [192]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers [174] ●
before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIII$^e$ siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139).

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our 171
next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and 233
black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically con- 342
nected and introduced together.

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's 114
theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) 174
is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel 233
was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951).

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
● 174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent
en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group
and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.).
To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also
superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another
[342] breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their
[825] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterized
by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans
Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk 171
is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain 234
Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly
also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors
(Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used [302]
for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East [262]
African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg
and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf
to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally
yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed
among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative 171
and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter 237
as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living 825
camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without [261]
water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab
pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently
in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom
may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which
forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and 171
difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the 233
wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these
wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding [825]
camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means
to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg,
and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the
same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as 171
among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks 233
cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some 422
of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the
Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection
with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they 171
may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The 174
domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of 233
the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of 342
camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders
of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch
construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts 184
like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, 342
and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular
those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a,
p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

Air
Ahaggar

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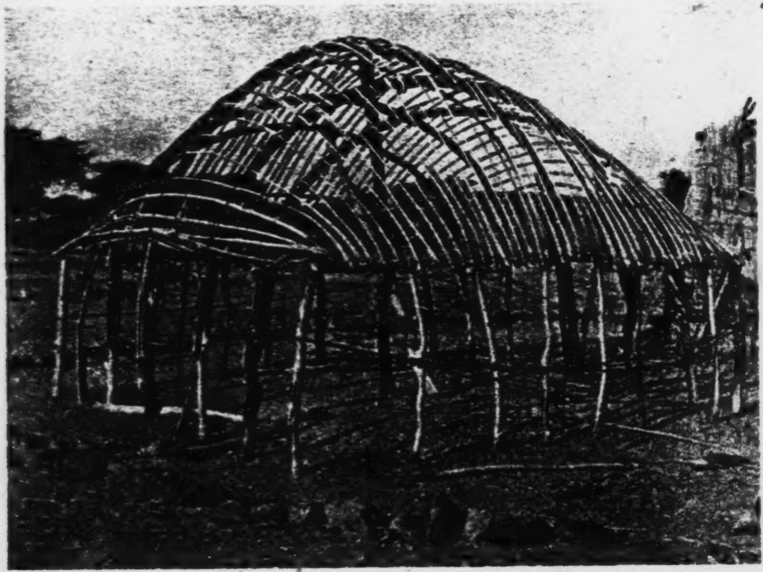

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never
used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent 184
consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a 342
horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this
dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most
probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-
covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in
Ahaggar and Adraṛ-n-Ifoṛas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f.,
photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. –
Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible
to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in [565]
Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally
related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen
1954, p. 89, 104).

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg 174
political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct 233
cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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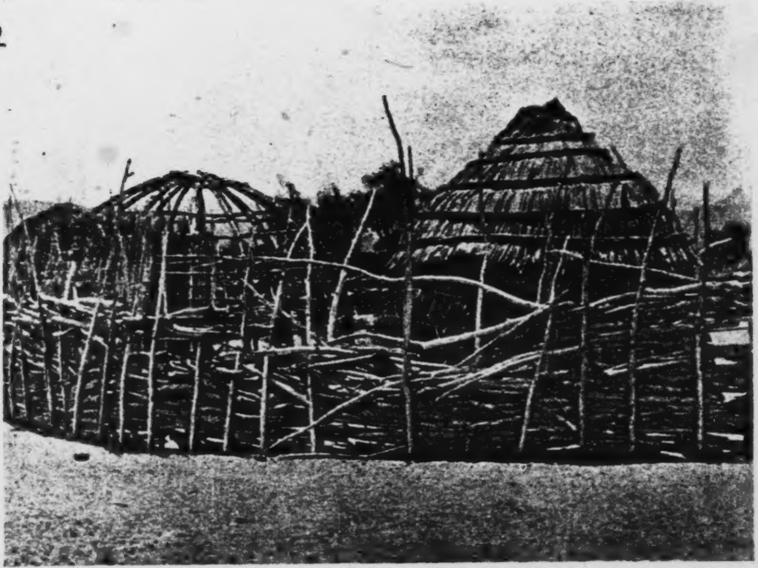

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that
233 time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable
that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab
invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common
with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may
have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted
dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern
Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to
similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern
[565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain
connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[792] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheγen*, sing. *Amacheγ*). I have also

174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*,
[192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally
Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
[114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun
states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some
of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a
later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the
Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of
the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from
Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political
systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among
whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
171 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan*
565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the pri-
vilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day
have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to
perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949,
p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of
a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and
in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
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172 /40 cont./ isolated gara /butte/, or on the slopes of a larger hill. One hardly ever sees them in the Ahaggar; the area in which these crescents are found extends toward the south of the central massif, beyond the large regs; a great many are found in the Adrar des Iforas and in the southern tassilis. It may be that they are manifestations of a civilization different from that of the central Ahaggar.

Oral Traditions

172 173 The Tuareg know that before their arrival a people called the Issabaten existed in the Ahaggar. These people had a social system /41/ of castes and were ignorant of the camel. The Issabaten were unintelligent, and their stupidity is still proverbial today. The Tuareg say that they never had any conflict with these gentle and calm beings. Some of the Issabaten, no doubt of a higher caste, must have been cleverer, for tradition still conserves the name of Amamellen and of his nephew Elias, who reputedly were the founders of rock art. These people had no religion -- this must be understood to mean that they were not Moslems.

No one has yet been able to translate the ancient inscriptions in tifinagh characters that are found rather frequently. The Tuareg maintain that the inscriptions are in a language different from their own, although written with the same characters; some Tuareg believe that the inscriptions are in code, with the letters transposed within the words, and that whoever is able to decipher them will learn where treasures are hidden.

172 174 It is certain that a civilization with paleolithic techniques existed in the Ahaggar during a humid period, probably at the edge of lakes or around the drainage basins into which the large wadis (Tanezrouft: Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaîne, Tafassasset) emptied. There is every reason to believe that

172 /41 cont./ the beings who peopled the Ahaggar at that epoch
174 must have been of a Negroid race, similar in general characteristics to the people of Asselar. They were probably fishermen and hunters. Vegetation was abundant at the edges of the present-day wadis. A fauna composed of elephants, felines, giraffes, etc., reigned in the plains. The Atakor no doubt enjoyed a Mediterranean climate, but must not have been inhabited. It does not appear to be possible at this time to determine the duration of this period or to place it in time; it must have had some connection with the glacial periods in Europe.

During an interglacial period, the change to a dry climate gave the Ahaggar a desertlike character. The Negroid population, seeing its way of life upset, must have fled the Ahaggar to go south until it found conditions of existence suitable to it.

For a long while the Ahaggar remained uninhabited. /42/ The dryness continued, and the Sahara was a more terrible desert for man than it is today. Then came a period of great humidity, brought on by more regular Sudanese monsoons. The wadis flowed again, although not as heavily or as regularly as in the paleolithic epoch. One must imagine the Ahaggar with a climate scarcely different from that of today, but with regular annual rains which allowed a fauna of the savannah to move from pasture to pasture, from the northern to the southern *tassilis*. The Atakor retained something of its Mediterranean character, evolving toward the residual type one sees at the present time.

With conditions suitable for human life again realized in the Ahaggar, man returned to populate these regions. The new inhabitant of the Ahaggar possessed a civilization that he brought with him, no doubt from Upper Egypt. He was a cattle raiser, Negroid in type, clever at working and polishing stone; he knew how to cultivate cereals, and how to grind and cook them. The women, fat and often steatopygic,

172 /42 cont./ made pots decorated with line drawings. These
174 peoples, with a neolithic culture, could have come to the Ahaggar from the south and the east, but some groups could have come by way of the Igharghar Valley, driving their cattle before them. The tribal chiefs were aged men, masters of magic rites; they knew how to cast spells and used esoteric signs. Some were veritable artists in engraving and sculpture.

Later, there is reason to believe, white populations from Libya settled in the Ahaggar, bringing with them heliolithic customs from the Mediterranean shores, such as megalithic monuments, the sun and serpent cults, cranial deformation, the caste system. The paintings in the Tefedest clearly represent Negro shepherds, but the new paintings of the Takecherouel wadi show people of a white race, tall and thin.

Should we consider these whites to be the ancestors of the /43/ present-day Tuareg? It would be premature to think this, but they may have been the first wave of Berbers to come to the Ahaggar. Their exodus may have been remembered by the nomadic Berber tribes who, later, camel owners, fled for various reasons before Roman and Arab promiscuity, and rediscovered the route of the neolithic whites to the Ahaggar.

The chronology of the protohistory is difficult to establish. However, a certain number of documents on this period exist. In the first place, we have the results of archaeological research, from the excavation of pre-Islamic monuments, particularly that of Tin-Hinan (cf. the book by M. Reygasse on the pre-Islamic funerary monuments).

173 The Tuareg have a certain number of oral traditions concerning this period. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the "cameline" age give us only very sketchy information: the oldest are untranslatable, and the most recent offer very little of interest; they are limited to the expression of the admiration of a man for a woman, or to arranging rendezvous.

/44 cont./ But the life of the Ahaggar soon was oriented toward the Sudan, from whence came the current of Islamization originating in Morocco. It is the Arab chroniclers, above all Ibn Khaldoun, who give us a view of the centuries troubled by incessant conflicts between the Negro kingdoms and the Tuareg, between the Tuareg and the Arabs, and between the different Tuareg tribes. Thanks to the genealogy of the noble families, recorded in oral traditions, a tentative chronology is possible.

The first Moslems probably came to preach in the Ahaggar toward the seventh or eighth century; they came from south Morocco and represented themselves to be Chorfa.

Continual wars raged between the Moslem Berbers and the Sonraï /Songhai/ of Gao, who controlled the Sudanese Sahel. After a series of successes and reverses, the Tuareg permanently installed themselves in the Ahaggar, the Adrar des Iforas, the Aïr, and the Tassili des Adjjer, mountainous, semi-desert regions where life is possible for nomads, where places of retreat are easy to defend, which make excellent bases for raids, and which constitute a zone of wells indispensable to caravans.

/45/ Beginning in the sixteenth century, the history of the Ahaggar is that of the struggle between rival tribes: a long enumeration of successful or unsuccessful raids, of assassinations of chiefs, of abductions.

The tribe which ruled the whole of the Tuareg from the beginning of the conversion to Islam was that of the Iménanes, of whom there are only a few descendants today. The Iménanes were Moroccan Chorfa. Toward the seventeenth century, the Iménanes were obliged to divide their lands and authority among the different, altogether too bellicose, Tuareg tribes. From this time dates the partition into the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, the Aïr, the Ajjers, and the Iforas.

The Kel Ahaggar emerged as a tribal confederation, ruled over by noble tribes, each of which had vassal tribes. Four

/45 cont./ more or less related noble tribes divided the lands of the Ahaggar. The Kel Rela claim to be descended from a Moroccan sherif; the Taïtoks are related to the Iménanes, therefore are Chorfa, but they are said to have crossed with the Negroes; those two tribes are the most important. The Ikadéiens were supposedly Berbers crossed with the Arabs of the Tidikelt; this tribe has hardly any descendants left today. The Tédjéhé Mellet have Chorfa blood; they were never very numerous and at present are represented by a small group of tents living in the Tefedest.

Constant anarchy reigned in this confederation. Assassinations led to a rapid turnover in leadership, and command was a dangerous game. The noble tribes divided the lands of the Ahaggar. The Kel Rela had the Atakor, the Tédjéhé Mellet had the Tefedest and the northern tassilis, the Taïtoks had the Ahnet and the southwest of the Ahaggar.

Since this partition, the genealogy of the Kel Rela is fairly accurately known. Kella, a noble Tuareg woman, transmitted the tobol (1) from mother to daughters. The two most important noble tribes, the Kel Rela and the Taïtoks, quarreled incessantly over rights of succession to the tobol, after marriages concluded in periods of friendship. Battles and alliances followed each other /46/ in confused fashion. When they were united, the Kel Ahaggar fought the Arabs of the Touat or the Negroes of the Sudan; when they fell out, they resumed their internal fights or attacked the Ajjers /Azjer/.

Pillaging or protecting the caravans, the Tuareg controlled the central and southern Sahara at the time the French sought to secure a liaison between Black Africa and Algeria. Even this common enemy scarcely succeeded in uniting the Tuareg.

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1. A sort of drum, symbol of command; by extension: the right to command.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[651] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[651] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women, found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs. They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden."
The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The
feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
● [174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /56 cont./ and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came
to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been
separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members.
Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and
fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat
or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver
necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

565 /58 cont./ These freed men are no happier for their rise in the caste system, for this liberty is often synonymous with complete destitution.

The economic difficulties resulting from the prohibition of raiding have done more to suppress slavery than law and reason.

● 174 565 What is to be said on the historic origins of the harratin as an ethnic type? We have already seen that there are two types of harratin.

The former Tuareg slaves are probably originally from the Sudan and the Niger, where they were bought or captured in raids.

The harratin from the Touat and the Tidikelt may have the same origin as the others, but one cannot dismiss the theory that they are descendants, more or less pure, /59/ of an ancient negroid people of the Sahara (1).

1. In this connection, it is useful to read the articles published in the Bulletins de liaison saharienne at Algiers. These were prepared by professors of the University of Algiers and by all the important persons who, in different capacities, have worked in the Sahara. (Editor: Commander Ferry. Administration of the Territories of the South: Government General of Algeria).

565 241 The harratin constitute a most interesting social element in the Ahaggar, because it is they who cultivate the rare productive plots and who furnish the workmen: masons, carpenters, and manual laborers. If they appear at first sight

13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

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174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg

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184 questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Éwey* group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

food or to sell them when they are five years old. Many rams are killed or sold at a younger age, and male lambs are frequently killed when half-grown, but the Tuareg do not kill very young lambs. 233*

It is well known from literature that pastoralists of Tibet use sheep as beasts of burden (several authorities; cf. Bell 1928, p. 116; Hermanns 1949, p. 84). Among the Tuareg sheep are not used for this purpose, but I have seen herdsmen attach their empty water bags to the belly of rams, which are very tall, strong animals. [192]

## CATTLE

The oldest African cattle is believed to have been a type of the *Bos primigenius* breed characterized by comparatively long horns. This breed was known in Ancient Egypt, and also in Prehistoric Sahara, where its former existence is documented by numerous rock engravings (cf. Monod 1932; Gautier 1908; Lhote 1955a, 1958; Erman 1922; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 142 f.). It seems as if cattle of this particular type was found in parts of North Africa even in antiquity (Bates 1914, p. 95 f.), and we can adequately quote Faulkner & Epstein on the former distribution of humpless longhorn cattle in the north: "All along the shores of the Mediterranean, from Palestine through Egypt to North West Africa, and from Asia Minor through the Balkans to the Appenine and Iberian peninsulas, an ancient stratum of longhorn cattle can be traced, extending to the north and south as far as Mediterranean man or his culture spread" (Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 143). 233* 174

*Bos primigenius* cattle are still found in certain parts of Africa. It is known in isolated regions of the Western Sudan – notably in Guinea and Liberia (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 79 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 87 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 118 ff.). It is perhaps this breed to which Maqrizi refers in his description of the Beja (Maqrizi, p. 561). The very special thick-horned Lake Tchad breed is probably to be considered a *Bos primigenius* type (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 88 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, 233* 171

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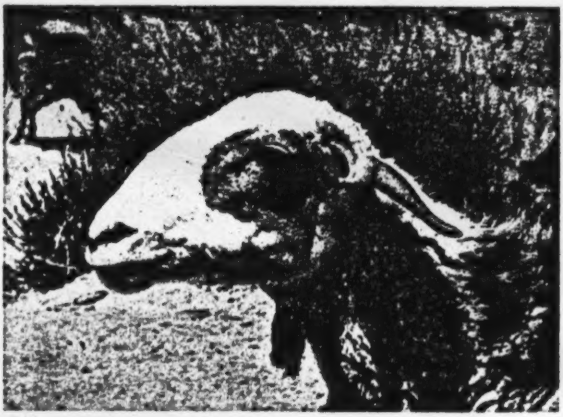

Fig. 26. Young ram of the hairy *Ovis longipes* breed. Ahaggar.

[text continues on p. 49]

p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which 233* have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 171 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259).

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. 233* (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in 174 Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawaɣ* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is 262 claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river 361 valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and 127 Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species: – *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old 824 dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr.

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting 492 on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar.

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-bags
415 from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
312 and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
262 are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
484 fetch provisions of millet around Tunut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
174 that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation
than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and
adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
262 The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
257 to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways
are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much
trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind
is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists
in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these
purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the
animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transportation
462 (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
824 Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
322 The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this
position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords
237 are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
412 soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b)
and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
237 cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
412 are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf.
Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*,
and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The
saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords
(*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle
type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which
are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket
or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote
states that they are also found in Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so
but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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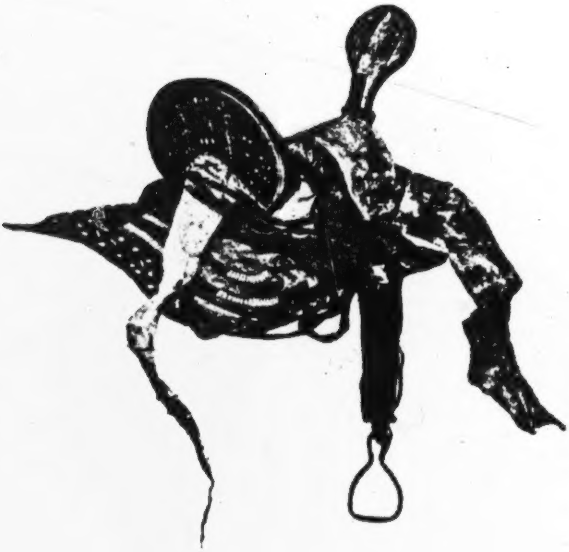

Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and [563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr, [563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the *492 animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit (*aṛaba*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the [171] general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes. [113] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps, [175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).

231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted

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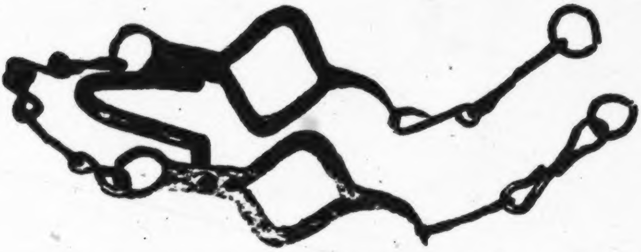

Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it 231
spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses 174
III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa
and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds 231
of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, 171
there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen type* known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed [174]
introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe type* found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) *the Dongolawi type* mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The 492*
*Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys.
They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the 492*
horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to 174
Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by
fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar [192]
Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour- 231
terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were
black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them, [172]
which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg
may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that
the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should
also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The
Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they
consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by
origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab [174] ●
invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's
statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lager-
crantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs.
The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their [136]
camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanṛaset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or
*tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions
during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans [177]
living at Tamanṛaset.

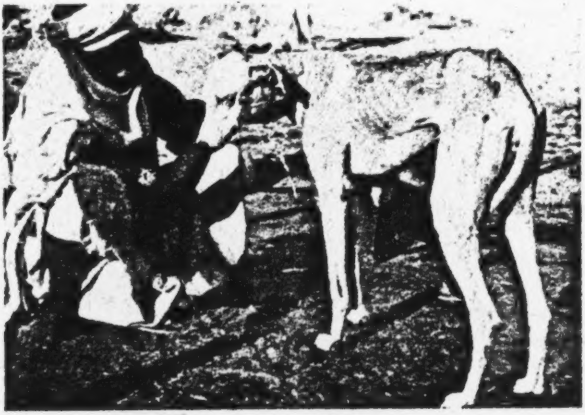

Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*oska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ġanet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe.

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## DOMESTIC BIRDS

235 Many sedentary people within Tuareg countries breed fowls of which a few may also be found in pastoral camps of the Ayr Tuareg, though fowls seem to be of very little use to them. For the hens kept by pastoralists do not hatch out their eggs, and these are not always found by the Tuareg. I think that most pastoralists of Ayr keep fowls mainly because they like to have them walking around the camp, and I believe that their owners in general are children. Domestic guinea fowls are bred by some sedentary people of Agadez, and young Tuareg who find a guinea fowl chicken in the bush may even take it to the camp to keep it as a pet. In Ahaggar there are no fowls among pastoralists, many of whom will refuse to eat fowls and their eggs (cf. p. 162). [262]

● [174] Domestic pigeons are bred by some sedentary people living within Tuareg countries. I believe that they have been introduced by the Arabs – in accordance with the theory advanced by Stuhlmann and Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 74).

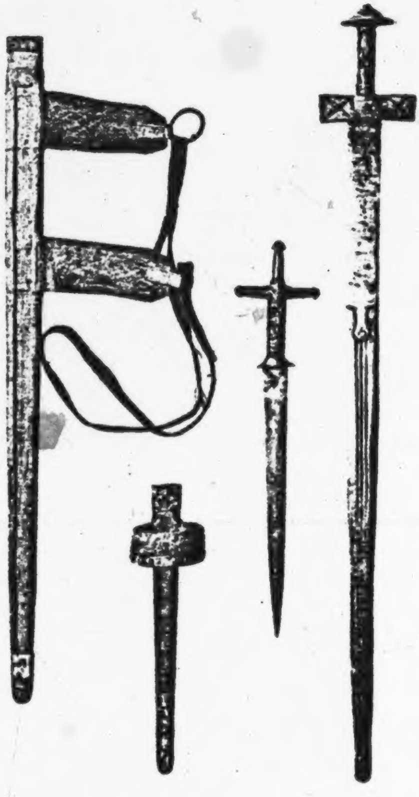

Fig. 121 a–b. Tuareg sword and dagger from Ahaggar.
a. Sword (*takuba*). Dimension: 0.925 m. (N.M. G. 1.141).
b. The so-called arm-dagger (*télek*). Dimension: 0.475 m. (N.M. G. 1.145).
Olufsen's Collection.

adult people, though bow and arrows like those depicted Fig. 119 are in general use among the Hausa 411 and the Fulani within the territory inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg. It is very possible that bow and arrows [174] were used as weapons among the Tuareg in the past when fire-arms were uncommon. This is claimed by certain older authorities, but it seems as if the weapons were manufactured in Damergu south of Ayr where the bow is traditionally used by negroid peoples (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 445, pl. XXV,

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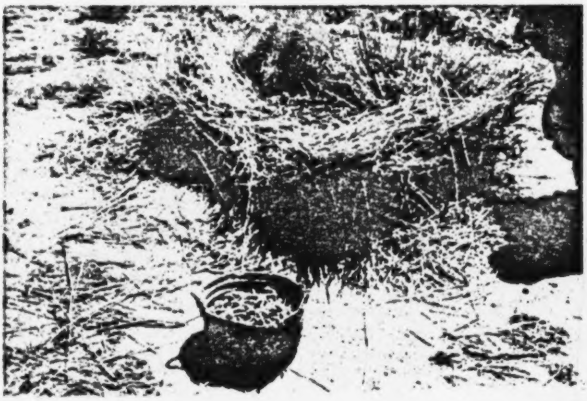

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people
of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been
founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post,
which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the
women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a
few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawegen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463 Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342
162 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
144 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking population that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*ėnefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *tefėryast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*taṣallabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [439] [171] [824] [415] [824]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*aġar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [824]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

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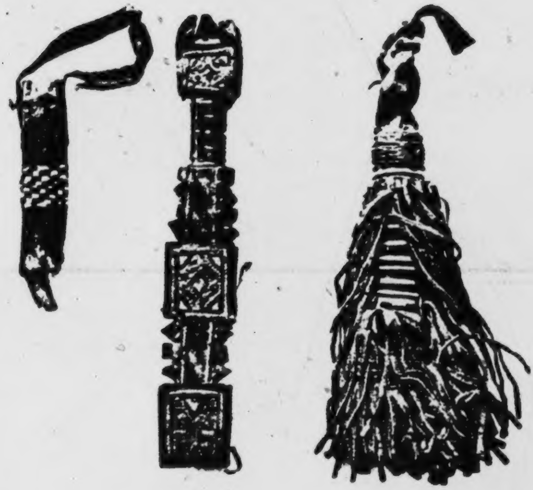

Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824] [276] [462] [565] b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 [281] [174] the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tameġhoyt*,

[text continues on p. 288]

are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture 175
and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamacheḳ*. 648 We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab 177
influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Ḫarratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr [492]
Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern 233
Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular [175]
breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced 233
elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and partic- 171
ularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There [174]
seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle [127]
types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes
174 (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-
177 Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It
is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

frequently referred to in books, and some authors have taken certain linguistic Roman traits as a proof that the Tuareg have once been Christians. But as stated by Lhote, the Latin words adopted in the Tuareg language cannot by themselves prove an ancient Tuareg Christianity, though they do indicate that the ancient Tuareg have had direct or indirect contact with Christians (Lhote 1955a, p. 346). We know that Christianity had a fixed position among many Berbers of North-Africa (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 177, 207, 209 & Leo Africanus I, p. 163), and there seem to have lived Christian Berbers more than a hundred years after the introduction of Islam into Morocco, where certain Berbers near Fez still remember Sunday as a day of rest (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 13 f.). As to the Tuareg we do not know whether some of them have been Christians, but Ibn Khaldun states that the great western division of *Sanhaja* Tuareg never adopted Christianity (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 212). 174 177

The Phoenicians occupied a limited area of the North African coast where they remained from about 1200 B.C. until the end of the third Punic War in the year 146 B.C. Over this long period they apparently did much to change North African Berber cultures. They introduced the use of iron and bronze, new cultivation methods of wine and olive, and did much to open up North Africa to Mediterranean influences, which also penetrated into the country of the Berber chiefs (cf. Gsell 1920–28, IV, p. 18 ff., 74 ff.; Despois 1949, p. 177 ff.; Mauny 1952, p. 577). However, it does not seem that true Phoenician elements can be proved to exist among the Tuareg. Further back in time true historical knowledge stops, but Aegean influences seem to have been in Tunis before the Phoenicians (Gsell 1920–28, I, p. 347; Despois 1949, p. 117).

## TUAREG CULTURE AND AFRICAN CULTURE COMPLEXES

So-called historical anthropology was from its very beginning closely connected with studies of African cultures. It was inaugurated by Friedrich Ratzel as a reaction against Adolf Bastian's evolutionary theories. Ratzel pointed out that certain weapons were found in identical form in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and he claimed that this could be explained only from the assumption that a historical relationship existed between them. Already in his study of the African bow Ratzel gave as his opinion that "Fast ganz Afrika erscheint uns zuletzt als ein einziges grosses Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgeschwächter asiatischer Anklänge" (Ratzel 1891, p. 333). 121

Ratzel had many followers who took up distributional studies of cultural traits in Africa and adjacent regions. Important investigations were made by such scholars as Schurtz and Weule, and by Leo Frobenius, who established a particular West African culture complex, which he claimed was historically related to similar compilations of culture traits in Indonesia and Melanesia (Frobenius 1898a). It is remarkable that Frobenius very soon abandoned this method of historical reconstruction though he invented it himself. However, the concept of world-embracing culture complexes disappeared, only to emerge again in a modified form a few years later (1904), when the two German scholars F. Graebner and B. Ankermann compared their studies in Oceania and Africa to establish for these areas culture complexes which they claimed to be historically related (Graebner & Ankermann 1905). The principal supporter of this theory was Graebner, who deepened his methodological by means of a tongue inserted in the wooden handle, but the digging stick is also known. The typical type of dwelling is the cylindrical house with a conical roof. 121

(6) *The Young Sudanese Culture*. This is largely identical with the *North Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius. Its main area of distribution lies between the Senegal River and the Red Sea around Ethiopia, and its culture elements derive from Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and above all from India. It is attached to state organization characterized by divine kingship, and many traits of highly-developed techniques in crafts are particularly attached to the royal court. It is a most refined culture in comparison with the above mentioned *Old Sudanese Culture*. Its original foundation was perhaps a developed agricultural technique based on artificial irrigation, manuring, and the terracing of fields. Certain agricultural implements are also characteristic of this culture complex, notably the socket-shafted hoe and other implements hafted in this way, the sickle, particular knives for rice-harvesting, and crescent-shaped spades. Megalithic monuments are perhaps also peculiar to this culture.

(7) *The Rhodesian Culture*. This is largely identical with the *South Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius, and has many traits in common with the *Young Sudanese Culture*, notably state organizations characterized by divine kingship. Many other cultural traits are common to the two cultures.

(8) *The Old Mediterranean Culture*. This is largely identical with the *Syrtic Culture* established by Frobenius. It is a high culture, which has been introduced from the Mediterranean into a large part of the Western Sudan between the Senegal River and Lake Tchad. It is less prominent in other parts of the Sudan. It is characterized by the mother-right of the Berbers, and this social trait derives from the old Aegean-Iberian culture of the Mediterranean. Mother-right was introduced into the Western Sudan together with the invasion of fair-skinned Berbers whose racial traits can be traced in numerous chief-families of West Sudanese states. The ancient mother-right of the Berbers even reached the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the north it disappeared in most places, but was conserved among the isolated Tuareg and the Beja. Many developed cultural traits are considered part of the Old Mediterranean Culture, but as this culture in the Sudan has mixed with the Young Sudanese Culture it is often difficult to determine whether cultural elements of the Western Sudan have been introduced from the east or from the north. An important characteristic of the Old Mediterranean culture is clay or mud architecture, including huts and store rooms of cylindrical form with a conical roof, dome-shaped dwellings, drums made from clay, large earthen jars for storing cereals, painted pottery, refined leather work, stone-carving, the manufacture of beads and glass, etc.

Many scholars other than those mentioned have contributed to our understanding of African cultural development, but none has made so systematic a study as has Baumann. More recently, however, a most important work on the distribution of African cultural traits has been published by Sture Lagercrantz. This deepens our knowledge of African cultures by its distribution maps, founded [713] upon an enormous knowledge of African literature (Lagercrantz 1950). Lagercrantz follows Baumann in the establishment of culture complexes, stating that the results achieved by Baumann are likely on the whole to prove of permanent value (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 8). In what follows I attempt to elucidate certain aspects of Tuareg culture in the light of Baumann's African culture complexes.

There can be no doubt that in the past an *Old Mediterranean Culture*, or a *Syrtic Culture*, has greatly 174 influenced North Africa with related regions. I think that the influence from such a high culture in

174 the regions now inhabited by the Tuareg is very clearly schown by the excellent study made by Lhote on rock engravings and paintings of horse-drawn waggons and carts in the Sahara (Lhote 1953a). For it is demonstrated by Lhote that though these pictures may show a resemblance to Egyptian carts and harnesses they are more particularly related to those of Ancient Greece, which is also intimated by the artistic style and the occurrence of spiral motives. The most excellent representations of horse-drawn carts have been found in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but pictures are also known from the Fezzan around the ancient city of Garama, in Ahaggar, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and in parts of Mauretania. Further east in the Sahara, in Ayr and in Tibesti, no cart pictures have so far been found. Lhote thinks it possible that horse-drawn carts may have been used on a route connecting the ancient city of Garama with the city of Ṭademaket (Es Suk) in Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, though he admits that the mere representation of carts in rock pictures does not necessarily prove that they were used in regions where such pictures are found. For rock pictures representing carts may also be found in mountainous regions where cart-driving has no doubt been impossible, though the cart used by the ancient people of the Sahara was probably a light one (Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228).

It would be natural to investigate how far this *Old Mediterranean Culture* has influenced Tuareg
212 culture. We may then perhaps assume that Tuareg alphabet (*tifinaṛ*) is a so-called *Old Mediterranean* element though it has not yet been exactly shown to which other alphabet *tifinaṛ* is most directly related (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 174 ff.). It is more difficult still to prove other cultural traits among modern Tuareg to be Old Mediterranean. One might suppose that a high culture of North Africa with a centre of gravity in the Syrtic region would also have influenced the ancestors of the Tuareg in regard to dress and weapons. It is of some interest to note that the bi-triangular persons depicted in Ancient Crete are also characteristic of the rock-engravings in the Sahara, whether associated with carts or not. Rodd has stated as his opinion that there is a close relationship between these bi-triangular figures in rock engravings and the leather shirt of poncho type still used by isolated tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Rodd 1938, p. 101 ff.). But, as pointed out by Lhote, there is no obvious reason to connect this ancient type of dress with Mediterranean civilizations, and the dress worn by persons depicted during the cart-period does not correspond to any definite type (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1148 ff.).

It would not be unnatural to expect that Tuareg culture would have adopted the sword from the Old Mediterranean culture which, we know, was found in North Africa long before the advent of Islam. But while spear warriors mounted on camels and horses are frequently depicted in ancient rock-engravings there seem to be little evidence of the ancient use of the sword (cf. Huard 1960, p. 144). Many theories have been advanced about the origin in Africa of the sword with a cross-like hilt (cf. Ankermann 1905, p. 60; Schilde 1929, p. 172; Murray 1935, p. 101). These authors give various explanations, but they all believe that the sword was introduced comparatively recently. Gsell states that the sword was not common among North African Berbers until the 6th century A.D., and he believes that the particular Tuareg sword with a cross-like hilt was introduced to the Sahara from Spain with the Almoravides during the 11th century A.D. (Gsell 1920–28, VI, p. 44 f.). Baumann asigns the sword to the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, to which complex Tuareg armdaggers are credited by Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1938a; 1950; p. 206 ff.). The developed techniques of leatherwork and skin-dyeing are perhaps to be considered Old Mediterranean rather than Young Sudanese?

174 171 The cotton shirt of poncho cut (p. 289 ff.) is common to all Tuareg, and is widely found in North-western Africa among the Moors as well as among the Hausa and other sedentary peoples of the Sudan where I have seen it as far south as Accra and Abidjan. It is unknown to Berber-speaking tribes of the Atlas, though an almost identical type of garment is found among the Berbers of Siwa (Cline 1936, p. 31). Poncho shirts very akin to those used among the Tuareg are also found in the Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, and Bornu (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 97, 189, 455 f., 646; Cline 1950, p. 40; Le Coeur 1950, p. 126, pl. XXVIII & XXXIV). It is possibly also this shirt to which Lebeuf refers from the Teda-Daza, from Kanem and Ouadai, and from the Arabs of the Lake Tchad region (Lebeuf 1959, p. 24, 44, 87, 97).

174 The large poncho-shirts used in North-western Africa were no doubt introduced before Islam, and it is possible that we should class them with the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture* comprising refined cultural traits derived from the Near East including Egypt, and from India, for we note that the same type of garment was used among the Iranians of antiquity (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 279). To the same culture complex should perhaps also be referred Tuareg sandals of the *takalmi* type which are largely used in the Sudan, and were known also in Ancient Egypt (cf. Chasseloup-Laubat 1938, p. 42, pl. XXIXa–c & Lhote 1950d, p. 528 ff.). The same is perhaps also true of sandals plaited of dum palm leaves and structurally related to *takalmi* sandals (cf. Zeltner 1914a, p. 367).

If we follow Baumann's definition of the Young Sudanese Culture there are other traits than those alluded to above which should perhaps be classified with this complex. Thus we note in particular socket-shafted implements and weapons, notably spears and adzes, while the normal axe, as well as the hoe among the sedentary *Kel Ayr*, are slot-shafted. The latter principle is considered a part of the so-called *Old Sudanese Culture* characterized by shifting cultivation with little developed agricultural techniques in contrast to the Young Sudanese Culture, which in its origin was perhaps connected with irrigation, terrace-building, and fertilizing. It is probable that we have conserved in Ayr certain traits of an old negroid culture based on shifting cultivation, and in this connection we note that the Ayr farmers do not harvest by means of the sickle, which by Baumann is also considered a Young Sudanese trait.

121 So far we have dealt with African Culture complexes that apparently have had very little importance for the creation of Tuareg culture as we know it to-day. More important are the last two complexes to be mentioned, namely the East Hamitic Culture and the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture. The Hamitic Culture established by Frobenius seems to contain traits from both complexes, and it is very possible that Frobenius in working out his Hamitic Culture was much influenced by Seligman's Old Hamitic Culture which has been recognized by many scholars (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 6 f.).

174 Baumann's *East Hamitic Culture* constitutes the most reasonable culture complex among all cultural groupings, for it contains traits which are largely connected with cattle and which seem to have very little meaning without. The East Hamitic Culture in many ways seem to constitute a true unit of traits that have penetrated into Africa with cattle. However, we must emphasize that it is not a functional unit in the sense that all these traits are highly necessary for cattle-breeding, and it is very evident that all traits are not found where the so-called East Hamitic Culture occurs. Baumann finds the East Hamitic Culture particularly well preserved in the Beja group, among the Danakil, 171

171 the Somali, and certain Galla, among the Nilo-Hamites and the Bahima, and in South-western Africa among such tribes as the Hottentots, the Herero, the Ovimbu, and others. The complex is mixed with other cultures among neighbouring Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa, and among the Nilotes. He states that the Fulani of the Western Sudan are culturally related to the East Hamites, but their historical origin is rather obscure. He also points out that certain traits of the East Hamitic complex are found among Arabs of the Eastern Sudan as far as Lake Tchad, where non-humped cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type seem to occur. Many authors have dealt with the distribution of the so-called East Hamitic traits, and Lagercrantz has published some very detailed maps of the distribution of certain milking customs of the East Hamitic complex (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 44 ff.). The traits mentioned by Lagercrantz have a larger distribution in Northern Africa than appears from his valuable maps. Thus the distribution of milking by inflating is indicated as practised in parts of South, East, and North-east Africa, and also in the Eastern Sudan, but it is not mentioned from the Sahara or from the Western Sudan. I have noted it among the Ayr Tuareg, and it is probably known elsewhere in the Western Sudan. Milking with the dummy-calf is shown to have a somewhat larger distribution. For North-western Africa it is mentioned among the Fulani of the Western Sudan, and in the Canary Islands. I can add that the method is common among the Ayr Tuareg, the *Kel Adṛaṛ* and probably also other groups of Sudanese Tuareg, and I have noted it also in Kabylia, from which region it has been earlier mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneux in their large monograph on the Kabyle (Hanoteau & Letourneux 1893, I, p. 497). It can be added that it seems as though this custom is known to most camel-breeders of the Sahara and the Sudan. Milking by udder patting is shown by Lagercrantz to exist almost exclusively in South-west Africa, though there is one instance of this method being used among the Nuer. I can add that this method is applied among the Ayr Tuareg, and among the Tuareg of Ayr, Ahaggar, and adjacent Arab tribes it is used also for milking camels. Finally, with regard to blood-letting with spears or knives, Lagercrantz mentions this custom only in the case of certain peoples of the Lower Congo region, a few instances from the Nilotes and East Africa, the Hottentots and the Ayr Tuareg. We can confirm the occurrence among the Ayr Tuareg, and add that blood-letting also occurs among the Tebu, and perhaps among many other pastoral people of the desert. Other so-called East Hamitic traits have not been distributionally studied in great detail, but I believe that there are other resemblances between the so-called East Hamitic Culture and the culture of North-west African pastoralists, including that of the Tuareg, e.g., the custom of not drinking milk alone when the animals graze away from camp, the small knots carved into the bridge of a calf's nose to prevent sucking, a custom used among the Tuareg for both cattle and camels, and which has been mentioned from the Nilo-Hamites by Huntingford (verbal information). In other words we find that the bulk of East Hamitic cattle traits are found also in North-western Africa among the Tuareg, with the main exception that they do not use urine added to milk or for the cleaning of milking bowls. However, this custom is known in the Western Sudan. I have been told that it is done by the Fulani in the region south of Ayr (cf. also Dupire 1962, p. 87).

174 The distinction between pastoral North Hamites and pastoral East Hamites is not so great as is often believed. A great many usages are common to the two branches of pastoral Hamites, and one might ask if the milking customs found among the Tuareg and adjacent pastoralists do not derive

from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are 174
very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, [173]
but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-* [121]
*Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also [411]
the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do [224]
not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Ṛat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

probably not an old hunting trait. Lagercrantz thinks that it came into Africa with an early Hamitic migration (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 f.), and I believe myself that the origin of this usage should be looked for in a culture which already knew stock-breeding. I believe this to be the case also with lassos and throwing snares, though the so-called short throwing snares according to Lagercrantz originated within the so-called Old Sudanese Culture (cf. Lindblom 1939, p. 386–393 & Lagercrantz 1950, p. 173 ff.). It seems to me that we have no evidence for the assumption that lassos and throwing snares are old hunting weapons, for these implements occur mainly among peoples who are also stock-breeders. As to the use of such implements among the Tuareg, we see that the pulling snare and also the throwing snare, used in connection with a short stick, are both employed mainly for catching domestic animals which have run wild. It remains to mention the sling, which is considered by Baumann to be an ancient hunting weapon of the Eurafrican hunting culture. The sling has later been studied in detail by Lagercrantz, who finds it in use over large areas of Africa, but mainly in East Africa, North-east Africa, and in the Western Sudan, though it is also noted in South Africa and in North Africa (Egypt, the Fezzan, the Atlas countries, the Canary Islands). We cannot be sure, according to Lagercrantz, that the sling in Africa everywhere derives from the same source. It was known by Eurafrican Steppe-hunters who made their slings of leather, but it has been re-introduced by various other immigrants such as the Hamites and the Arabs (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.). The antiquity of the sling seems to be proved by its existence in distinct hunting cultures of all continents with exception of Australia (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 206 f.). We see that though the origin of the sling possibly reaches back to very primitive hunting cultures, there is little evidence that among the Tuareg it belongs to such a culture (cf. p. 170).

Finally I mention the Tuareg use of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards in holes (cf. p. 162). It is interesting to note that the Bushmen catch burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, in their holes by means of a long stick with a barb or crook. This is stated by Schapera (1930, p. 133) and a crooked implement of this type deriving from the Bushmen is found in the Ethnographical Collection of the Danish National Museum. However, the distribution of this particular hunting implement in Africa seems to be unknown. One cannot, of course, take it as a proof of cultural connections between Tuareg and Bushmen.

Altogether, we have some difficulty in finding the so-called Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture among the Tuareg. But there can be little doubt that traits of some ancient hunting culture are preserved among them; we have evidence of this in certain rituals connected with hunting, and some of the sub-areas of tribal teritories are true hunting territories (cf. p. 148 f.). This points towards hunting as an important means of subsistence to the Tuareg in the past, and there can be little doubt that the same may be said of collecting. For though wild plants play a little part in Tuareg nourishment nowadays, the plants utilized for food belong to many different species, some of which are protected to allow them to grow ripe for collecting, which is generally done by methods unknown among agriculturists with the exception that the *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle. We may perhaps also see a rudiment of ancient collecting in the use of the digging stick by vassal women of Ahaggar. More than anything else I believe that the ancient remains of hunting and collecting are proved by the existence among the Tuareg of very primitive methods of food-preparation. Cooking

174 with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébik* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abatul*-method.

171 The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Museé de l'homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbary sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:— "Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population.

174 Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America – the so-called "Sandal System" – consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 2755 ff.).

121 [114] I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 [253] Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *tarahamt* (Ahaggar) or *tarajamt* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 174 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. [173] Ruins at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 × 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 172 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Éherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 172 174 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest house-ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silet, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).

*342 174 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

*342 ago when the *Ḥarratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there
●174 were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century.
This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at
361 Algiers that Abalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that
125 Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country
*[342] of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited
Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also
inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah.
He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good
to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

*342 A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

[171] Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions
inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger
[563] Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by
black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddamus* was introduced
into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ġanet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Taṛhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ġanet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ġanet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

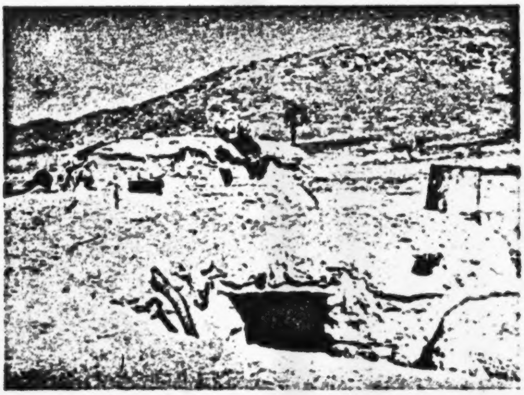

Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddamus*). Ahaggar, I-n-ẓawen.

*342 houses in Ganet or elsewhere in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have been told that they exist in these regions
*342 to this day. Various types of subterranean dwellings are recorded as existing further north in the
171 Sahara and in the Atlas. Semi-dugouts roofed with brush are occasionally used among the Chamba
(Briggs 1958, p. 120), and it is interesting to note that subterranean dwellings also occur among the
semi-nomadic Chawiya of Aurès, who use such dwellings only when they live with their flocks in
the desert south of the mountain massif (cf. Rivière 1938). Elsewhere in Northern Africa they seem
to be found exclusively among sedentary peoples. The main area of distribution is the Atlas, Tripolitania,
the northern parts of the Western Sahara, and the Western Sudan (cf. Hefel 1946 & Le
Moal 1960). Frobenius considered the subterranean dwelling a so-called "Hamitic" trait (Frobenius
[174] 1933, p. 214 ff.). Recent investigations seem to indicate that this particular dwelling type was introduced
to North Africa by contact with civilizations of the Western Mediterranean in pre-Christian
times (cf. Hefel 1946).

*342 A.5. *Square or rectangular huts covered with plant material.*

The dwellings to be described under this item should perhaps be termed houses rather than huts as
[184] they have walls and roof made separately. They fall into two sub-types one of which is characteristic
of Ayr, the other of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The two types may be historically related, but this
cannot be taken for granted, for constructionally they are somewhat different.

A.5.a. In Ayr the square or rectangular hut is called *téjira*, and is found mainly among sedentary people of the *Kel Ewey* group. It is never used by pastoralists. The structure of this hut can be described in the following way:—

Nine heavy and forked poles are fixed solidly in the ground in three rows parallel to each other. In other words there are three poles in each row. These poles are called *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*), the word generally used for various kinds of prongs and forked sticks or poles.

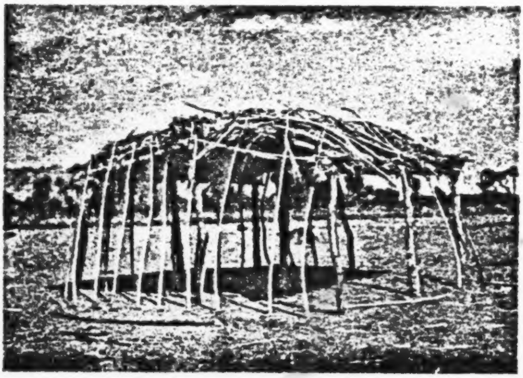

Fig. 249a. Straw-hut of the *téjira* type. The wooden skeleton of the hut with the roof covered. Ayr, Iferwan.

34 The hut I saw at Ingal was situated close to the market place, and was apparently not used as an ordinary dwelling. It had a low cylindrical mud wall and a high, conical roof covered with straw.

*342 171 It is curious that cylindrical houses with conical roofs are so extremely rare in Ayr and its adjacent regions, for they have a very wide distribution among sedentary shifting cultivators of Damergu, and I have seen them almost everywhere in the region between Zinder and Dakar. There can thus be little doubt that they play a part for many sedentary agriculturists living in the regions dominated by such Sudanese Tuareg as the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden*, and the group of *Kel Tademaket*. Among sedentary farmers of the Ader area in the *Kel Dennek* territory, Nicolas mentions and depicts a typical Sudanese cylindrical house with a conical roof (Nicolas 1938, p. III p. 63 & 1950a, p. 156 f.), but it does not appear that this type of dwelling is used by the Tuareg or by negroid castes of Tuareg society. Nicolas also mentions a straw hut of the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg, but this is so unsatisfactorily described that it is impossible to gain any clear idea of its form and construction – despite illustrations. In an early study this hut (*akaber*) is described as a cylindrical hut with a flat roof (Nicolas 1938, p. 61, pl. I p. 55), while in the later book on the *Kel Dennek* he mentions a hut called *akarben* (*ekarben*) which seems to be of cylindrical form. It has a central post named *tamākait* (*tamankayt*) and, perhaps, a slightly elevated roof (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIII, p. 155). In both studies Nicolas says that straw-huts of this type are used mainly by slaves or manumitted slaves who are semi-sedentary, but he adds that in the very hot season certain Tuareg make their slaves build for them huts of this kind.

*342 174 It is possible that cylindrical houses, including barns like those used in the Sudan, were introduced to certain oases of Adrar-Timimoun from the south (cf. Stuart 1936, p. 299, ill. p. 256, 294). Sudanese Negroes may in fact have been responsible for the distribution of these dwellings even as far north as Morocco. This is stated by Despois, who is of the opinion that the cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs (called *nwala* while the proper name is *ḳabbusa*) were introduced with black-skinned troops coming to Morocco from the Niger Bend during the 17th century A.D. The relations between the Sudan and Morocco initiated at the end of the 16th century by Sultan *Aḥmed al-Manṣur*, gave rise to the immigration of negroid peoples who took dwellings of the *nwala* type with them (Despois 1949, p. 308 f., 529, pl. VI B.).

*342 171 I think we may conclude our analysis of cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs as follows:—(1) It is most probable that they are very ancient and traditional to many vassal tribes of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. To-day they constitute their prominent type of dwelling, which should probably be viewed in connection with the occurrence of related dwelling forms in the Fezzan, and in Tripolitania – the more so as it seems as if many cultural traits and migrations of peoples have followed the route from the Mediterranean via Tripolitania and the Fezzan to Tasilé-n-Ajjer. We know that the type was used among the Eastern Libyans of Antiquity. I believe cylindrical dwellings of Ahaggar like those used among certain Tuareg of the *Amenukal*'s camp and those found at Silet, are probably historically related to the cylindrical dwellings of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) It seems as if cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are rarely used by Sudanese Tuareg, though they are common among sedentary agriculturists within the territory dominated by Southern Tuareg groups. These Sudanese dwellings have spread northwards in the Western Sahara via Tawat to Morocco. – We see that distributional studies of cultural traits are extremely difficult and liable to give very wrong results. It might have been natural

1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti 342*
Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg 171
mat tents (cf. Biassuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950,
p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV).
However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks
and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum
at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow
sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks.

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, 342*
perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this [174]
theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close
affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is 182
the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads,
and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –"
(Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by [221]
true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic
animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a
week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf.
B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the
*Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which
they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on
the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat
tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than
does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate 182
structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the 342*
Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, 492
being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved
boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with
the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I
have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic
utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey
without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement [484]
of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household
implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266).
On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is 182
more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier 342*
burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though
it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former
need a sytem of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where

In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, 342*
partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225).

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter [574]
for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part [182]
of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, [352]
namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106).

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey [114]
1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by [182]
many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg.

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find 342*
them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substan- 171
tiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens.

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there 342*
seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have 174 ●
seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *éwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afeẓu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents

*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have [114] now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe [114] that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to *342 178 Ahaggar 1929-30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:—(1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iwllemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern [382] Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[text continues on p. 388]

*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwllemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adṛaṛ*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Ajjer* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black 342* tent and Arab pastoralists. 174

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original 177 tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechâkra) who live in the *Kel Dennek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hómmâr* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Dennek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Dennek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Saïd 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development 342* in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of 171 Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material 175 of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic-

*342 171 ● 174 Thus the particular structure of black tents among certain Moors is due to a combination of two dwelling types: the black tent which has apparently been introduced by the Arabs coming down along the Western Sahara from the north, and a barrel-vaulted portable dwelling which we may perhaps conceive as the type of dwelling used in ancient times by the Tuareg of these regions who were conquered by the Arabs.

*342 171 177 If we turn to Tuareg skin tents supported by one central post with a short cross-bar, we may well assume that this particular structure, the so-called T-shaped post, has not only been introduced owing to influence from the black tent, but that it is also largely the result of contact with the Arabs. We know from Duveyrier that the Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* have skin tents and in some cases black tents also, and that these dwellings are identical in structure (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403 ff.). It is also certain that the Arabs who live in the region of Tidikelt use T-shaped posts both for black tents and for skin tents. This is recorded (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 224). I have myself gathered the same information from the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* Arabs among whom I saw a black tent supported by a T-shaped post. Again, if we turn to the *Kunta* Arabs who live north of the Niger Bend, we find that they use for their tents skin sheets which they obtain from the Tuareg (cf. Geneviève 1950, p. 1125), and from one of my friends, a *Kunta* Arab living at Agadez, I obtained the information that the *Kunta* use a T-shaped post for their tents which are made of skin or canvas, though in very large tents they use two T-shaped posts.

*342 171 It is very interesting that an investigation of the distribution of T-shaped posts further north in Africa seems to indicate that this particular structure in black tents is found among the Arabs, but not among the Berbers. I have been told by the *Chamba* Arabs of Metlili that they use T-shaped posts in their black tents. Further north I have seen tents with a T-shaped post among Arabs who live in the central part of the Sahara Atlas. I may say that Lieutenant Millot, who has an intimate knowledge of the large pastoral Arab tribes *Rebaya* and *Ferjân* living around El Oued and the great sandy desert of Erg Oriental, told me personally that these Arabs use single T-shaped posts in their tents. We can add to this Feilberg's detailed investigation of black tent structures with a T-shaped post from Eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and from the *Ulad Ali* nomads (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 146). It is interesting to note that Feilberg has also found T-shaped posts in black tents among Arab pastoralists of Syria and Central Arabia (Feilberg 1944, p. 146).

*342 171 174 I am not going as far as to claim that the black tent was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs, though this may well be so (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 119 ff.), but I think that the present extensive distribution of black tents in the Sahara must be due to them. This seems quite evident when we consider Feilberg's map of the distribution of black tents in Northern Africa, which also shows that the distribution of black tents is not limited to environment of a definite type (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). Laoust long ago pointed out that black tent vocabulary in Morocco is derived largely from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168 f.). This has later been emphasized even more by Delpy who thinks that all the present black tents of North Africa, including Mauretania, have been introduced by the Arabs. However that may be there is no doubt that Leo Africanus does not refer much to the use of black tents which have acquired their present wide distribution in Northern Africa later than the 16th century A.D. (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 15 f.).

*342 174 177 I conclude my analysis of Tuareg T-shaped structures by saying that this structure is foreign to

traditional Tuareg dwellings having been introduced by contact with the Arabs who use black tents. 342*
I believe this to be the most reasonable explanation, and I think that at all events there is one important 174
factor which points to a connection between T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin-tents and similar posts 177
in Arab black tents:— Where T-shaped posts are known to be a traditional type of dwelling, as is
the case among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Dennek*, skin tents are always placed with the broad [823]
entrance side towards the south, which is also the tent orientation of the adjacent Northern Arabs with black tents. Where barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats form the predominant type of portable dwelling the orientation is different. This, anyway, is the case with the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* who live almost exclusively in barrel-vaulted mat tents which have the broad entrance side turned westwards. This difference in orientation can hardly be accidental. It rather points to a historical connection between the Tuareg groups who possess T-shaped structures and the Northern Arabs who own black tents. It may also be added that both among the Northern Arabs and the Northern Tuareg it is customary to divide the tent into two parts the left (western) one being reserved for the woman, the right (eastern) part for her husband.

Finally, the theory I have advanced about the origin of Tuareg T-shaped posts in skin tents seems to be substantiated by the distributions of other cultural traits mentioned in the previous chapter, for certain traits which seem to have been introduced by the Arabs, e.g., Arab riding saddles for women, seem to occur mainly where T-shaped posts are prevalent.

[text continues on p. 393]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by
vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.1.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.

[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had [114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the 174
oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as 571
sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar 614
before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Ṛali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*".

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble 174
Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble 565
class is known by the term *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers [184]
to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhaṛ* (sing. *Amahaṛ*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aheṛ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amaziṛ* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aheṛ* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462).

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship 174
between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as 175
*Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned 565
in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated

174 southwards to settle close to the *Lemta* Tuareg. The *Hawwara* descent of these people is indicated by
175 their name *Heggar*. For the letter *w* in the name *Hawwara* has changed into a sort of *k* with a pro-
525 nunciation something between a soft and a guttural *k* (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 275 ff.). Thus we see that
the theory set forth by Foucauld about the connection between the *Hawwara* and the *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) was advanced much earlier by Ibn Khaldun.

It is interesting to note that though he recognizes a certain relationship between the *Hawwara* and the large Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun does not as a rule mention the *Hawwara* as belonging to the veiled Tuareg. There are many different and contradicting genealogical views of the origin of the *Hawwara*. It seems as if Ibn Khaldun accepts the explanation given by Ibn Hazm: All Tuareg groups and the *Hawwara* descend from an ancestress named *Tizki*. But the *Hawwara* are not patrilineally related to these large Tuareg groups; they descend from *Hawwar* and through him from an ancestor named *Awriṛ* (cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 169). It is remarkable that the word *Awriṛ*, which in the form of *Awriṛa* is also used by Ibn Khaldun as a name of a Berber tribe in the Fezzan, is identical with *Uraṛen* – the name of the principal noble tribe among the *Kel Ajjer* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

Of the other Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun says that they have lived in the desert since immemorial times. The principal groups mentioned are:—

*Gedala* belonging to the large *Ṣanhaja* division. They lived in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Dwi-Ḥasan* of *Makil* root living around Sous in Southern Morocco.

*Lemtuna* and *Wenziga* in the desert south of the Arab tribes *Dwi-Manṣur* and *Dwi-Ubayd-Allah* – tribes of *Makil* root living in Morocco.

*Messufa* in the desert south of an Arab tribe named *Zoṛba* living in the central Maghreb.

*Lemta* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Riaḥ* in Eastern Algeria (Zab, Bougie, Constantine).

*Targa* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Sulaym* in Ifrikia, that is Tunisia and adjacent parts of Tripolitania (cf. Ibn Khaldum II, p. 104 f.).

The country of the Northern Tuareg in Ibn Khaldun's days was inhabited by two main groups of Tuareg known as *Lemta* and *Targa*. This is confirmed by Leo Africanus who, however, states that the *Targa* live west of *Lemta* as opposed to Ibn Khaldun, who says that the *Lemta* formed the westernmost group. The two groups, according to Leo, also occupy the country south of the present territory of Northern Tuareg so that Ayr belonged to the *Targa* group (cf. Leo Africanus p. 797 ff.) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 330 ff.). As to the *Hawwara* Berbers, they are mentioned by Leo in the original Italian edition as *Aoara*, in the English translation as *Haoari* or *Hacari*. They are not mentioned as forming part of the People of the Veil, but as tent-dwelling pastoral Moors living in the northern desert and speaking Arabic though corruptly (Leo Africanus p. 130 ff., note (14) p. 205 f.).

It is most interesting that the words *Targa* and *Lemta*, which have now disappeared as names of Tuareg groups, are mentioned not only by Arab authors but are also found on European Maps of North Africa from the 16th and the 17th centuries. We have the word *Targa* situated in the central or southern part of the Sahara on the *Africae Tabula Nova* of Ortelius (1570). We have the word *Targa* in the Northern Sahara and the word *Lempta* towards the south-east of it in the Central Sahara on the *Africae Nova Descriptio* of Blaeu (1665) (cf. Bovill 1958, maps III & IV p. 113 & 132), and we have both names occurring on a map produced by Dapper in the same century (cf. Dapper 1670, p. 1).

We mentioned in the introductory chapter that the word "*Tuareg*" seems to be derived from the 174
word "*Targa*" or *Tarġa*", which latter word nowadays is used for the desert country also known by 175
the Arab word, the "Fezzan". Foucauld says that the word "*Tuareg*" to the Arabs of Tidikelt has 565
two distinct meanings, namely (1) "noble Tuareg", and (2) "Tuareg of all classes". He also says that
the Berber-speaking population of Tawat and Tidikelt use the word *Ilemtiyen* synonymously with
the word "Tuareg" used by the Arabs of the same area, and that the name *Ilemtéyen* is used for a
small tribe of Tuareg living in the *Kel Ajjer* territory (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). It is noteworthy
that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe, which is not very numerous nowadays when its members live as
sedentary agriculturists near Ṛat, is noble by descent, and I was told by the *Amenukal Bay* in Ahaggar
that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe is not related to the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes but descends from an ancestor named
*Lemta*.

In other words the following theory on the origin of the class division and the political systems among the Northern Tuareg might perhaps be justified:— We accept the tradition that the class-division originated as a result of an invasion of Berber-speaking camel-breeders, that these people introduced the camel into the Sahara, and became the first noble Tuareg in the North. These first noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer belonged to the group *Lemta*. The noble Tuareg who to-day form the dominant noble tribes in the north came later; they descend from the *Hawwara* Berbers, who very early came under Arab and Islamic influence and took up grazing grounds in the country of the Northern Tuareg at a later date which cannot be fixed precisely.

## TUAREG INVASIONS INTO AYR

The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara 174
is of very great, but unknown, age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as history reaches
(cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff.; Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used
as beasts of burden, and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages, as
were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel,
caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also
oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty, camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Ayr may perhaps have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent
gracing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know, but it seems possible to follow
in broad outline the history of the Ayr Tuareg a thousand years back in time, and to distinguish
between several invasions. However, it must be admitted that the invasions cannot be precisely dated
and that our historical knowledge is on the whole most fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral 174
tradition, partly from written historical sources, among which the so-called *Agadez Chronicle* is of 175
particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They
have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910, 1928, 1936; Urvoy 1934). Several
authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Ayr Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I; Rodd
1926a, 1926b, 1938; Palmer 1936; Urvoy 1936; Nicolas 1950a, 1950b). But there have been an
excessive tendency to speculation upon the basis of superficial resemblances between tribal words.

174 175 To my mind, the best general account of the history of the Ayr Tuareg, is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

We do not know when the first Tuareg came to the Sahara, but as early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers, including the two important tribal groups of *Lemta* and *Zaṛawa*, passed through the desert. The *Lemta* settled around the Niger and gave rise to the *Sonṛay* Empire, while the *Zaṛawa* reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornu was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Ayr where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the *Hausa* state of *Gober* or *Gobir* which existed in Ayr up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the tribes of *Igdalen* (now in Tegama and Damergu south of the Massif) and *Iberkhuréyn* (now in Azawaṛ north of Tawa) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case with the *Kel Tamgak* in Northern Ayr. The great age of the *Igdalen* and the *Kel Tamgak* is recognized by all Ayr Tuareg to-day.

The arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins known as *Beni Hilal* and *Beni Sulaym*, who invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and the Fezzan (cf. Ibn Khaldun, I, p. 134 ff.), had the result that many Tuareg tribes migrated southwards to Ayr. Among them was a group of seven tribes (*Itésen*, *Ijadaranein* [probably the *Iḥaḍanaren*], *Ifadalen*, *Tamakwat*, *Tamga'azellet*, *Iza'aran*, and *Ibrazwen*) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The *Itésen* tribe had as its particular ancestress the eldest daughter. The tribes were united into a sort of federation also known as *Itésen* because its supreme chief, named *Aṛenbulu*, was elected from this tribe. The *Itésen* group settled in Central Ayr, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named *Immikitan* was separated from the *Itésen* federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief named *Emekki*. Tuareg of *Itésen* and *Immikitan* stocks are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the Massif, where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. However, remnants of these ancient Tuareg tribes are still found in the central parts of the Ayr Massif where they lead a semi-sedentary life. It seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* at a very early date became attached to the small agricultural centres of Ayr. Many stone ruins throughout Ayr are ascribed to the *Itésen*, who are said also to have lived at Agadez which originally was a small village of stone houses inhabited by them.

According to tradition the *Itésen* Tuareg came from the oasis of Awjila in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, or adjacent parts of northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the *Kel Geres* are, according to some traditions, related to the *Itésen*. They are said also to have come from Awjila. However, it seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* have immigrated to Ayr at different times, and that the *Kel Geres* came later. According to Urvoy they invaded Ayr at a time between the 12th and the 14th century (cf. Urvoy 1936).

At the end of the 14th century both the *Kel Geres* and the *Itésen* came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the *Kel Ewey*, who are said to have had Awjila as their original homeland like the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres*. They fought these two groups and in particular the *Kel Geres* who lived in Central Ayr around Anu Meḳḳeren. As a result of this the *Kel Geres* finally left Ayr in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madawa of the Nigerian borderlands. They still live in these regions and are now extremely rich in stock, though they are said to have had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr for the southlands in the 18th century. 174

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The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg who probably came to Ayr in the 14th century took up grazing grounds in Central and Eastern Ayr. There were originally seven tribes of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, and five of these still exist. Like the *Itésen* and most other Tuareg, these tribes claim descent from a common ancestress. But the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have largely mixed with the negroid village population which is also now known as *Kel Ewey*, and there are very few fair-skinned pastoralists among them nowadays. Barth mentions that the true *Kel Ewey* tribes are related to the very powerful tribe of *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372).

As to the origin of the noble nuclei of the two important drum-groups of *Kel Ferwan* and *Kel Faday*, the date of their arrival is most difficult to determine. The name of the *Kel Ferwan* is derived from the [103] village of Iferwan in the north (*Kel Ferwan* = "the people of Iferwan") but they were nevertheless true nomads who originally lived in Northern Ayr. Urvoy thinks that they came to Ayr at the same time as the *Kel Ewey* or somewhat later, and that they lived in Northern Ayr around Iferwan until the 17th century when they moved southwards to the region of Agadez. But this statement is not in agreement with traditions I have collected in Ayr. It is perhaps not to be taken very seriously that all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they came to Ayr before other Tuareg groups, but the present Sultan *Umar* of Agadez says that all Tuareg groups now living in Ayr had arrived in the country when the sultanry was established in the year 1405 A.D., at which time the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg lived at Tafadek north of Agadez. There are different traditions about the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their homeland; this probably implies immigration from or via the Fezzan (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the *Uraṛen* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they came from a country situated towards the east or northeast, or from Awjila, but there are also many Tuareg of this group who claim that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg originally lived in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating *Kel Ṛela* tribe of that region. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Ayr they continued to intermarry with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named *Tadawelt* (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was *Sabenas*.

As to the origin of the *Kel Faday*, their name is derived from a mountainous part of Northern Ayr. According to Urvoy they migrated southwards towards the south-west to the region of Ingal, where they took up grazing grounds at the end of the 18th century (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). The *Kel Faday* Tuareg are said to be related to the *Taytoḳ* of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322; Urvoy 1936, p. 150; Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 384).

Among the latest Tuareg immigrants are to be mentioned the *Kel Tamat* who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who in Ayr attached themselves to the *Kel Tamat*. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the *Taytoḳ* of Ahaggar, partly from the *Imanṛasaten* and the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the *Ikezkezen* told me that they are related to the *Uraṛen*.

their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren*
of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered
noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords
for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the
nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties.
But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom
to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the
animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making
good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a,
p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past
attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been
able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of
the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels
in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had
camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned
these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves.
Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Ikkoberen* and the *Iberdyanen*
attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid
population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

642 there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as
565 vassals.

174 The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be
642 explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same
565 area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with
[144] the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg.
It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not
642 divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe
643 is that called *Ti-temeḳḳeret*. It is named after Anu-Meḳḳeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally
lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes
[563] which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who
are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

614 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres
642 a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe
645 of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title
of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.

634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, 565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to [171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, 565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral [173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. [262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter [492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— [583] (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The [233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in [422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by [342] the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps [293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among [262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found [224] particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and [174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but [233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks [462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently in- 534
troduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, 171
p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it 534
seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot 174
be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the 643
custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt 177
also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa 171
south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear 174
in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery 567
in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th 565
century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military 567
administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 648

administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said 105
to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as 177
though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre- 178
European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not 184
so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization 178
though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they 582
have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be 174
little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), 114
and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

174
114

adjustment to special local conditions after their displacement into the Sahara. Murdock accepts this. He believes that the Tuareg, when adopting the very un-Berber caste stratification of the Arabs, may well have instituted matrilineal affiliation for inter-caste marriages in order to preserve their purity of race. He seems to believe that patrilineal affiliation among the *Iwllemmeden* and the *Ifoṛas* is old, while matrilineal affiliation is recent (cf. Murdock 1959, p. 408 f.).

In the main Murdock's theory was advanced already by Gsell, who also stated that the Tuareg constituted the only known example of a people who had substituted their patrilineal type of affiliation with a matrilineal system (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 38). The problems connected with father-right and mother-right in Tuareg society are complicated. It seems as if patrilineal succession among the Tuareg mainly, perhaps exclusively, is due to Arab influence. The existence of a pre-Islamic patrilineal system in the ancestral tribes of certain noble Tuareg can neither be discarded nor confirmed. However, there is absolutely no doubt that Tuareg matriarchate is very old and constitutes the traditional system in vassal tribes. I have shown above that matrilineal succession was once recognized in most Tuareg groups (cf. p. 456 ff.) and that certain vassals of the *Iwllemmeden* even to-day follow matrilineal rules of inheritance.

Briggs believes that pre-Islamic social organization was characterized by matrilineal inheritance and succession to authority, while residence was patrilocal so that the household consisted of a patriarchal extended family (Briggs 1958, p. 87). This is perhaps not very likely for the present custom of ultimate matrilocal residence is undoubtedly very ancient.

I find it adequate to conclude this chapter about diffusion and function in Tuareg social organization as follows:—

Tuareg patrilineal succession seems to be recent and post-Arabian; this holds also for present inheritance rules which follow Ḳoranic law. Thus there can be no doubt that social organization changes owing to the diffusion of certain social traits. Murdock's statement that social traits diffuse only under circumstances where the traits would have developed independently is contrary to the known facts.

# Conclusion

The description of Tuareg culture presented in this study shows very clearly that cultural evolution 174
should be viewed mainly in the light of history. It seems possible to follow in broad outline cultural 177
development among the Tuareg through the last two thousand years. The main forces of cultural change and development were the following:—

(1) European occupation. The major change was the abolition of warfare and raiding, and consequently the breakdown of traditional political systems.

(2) Immigration of Arabs. It is possible that the ancestors of the Tuareg were influenced by the Arabs who came to North Africa during the first invasion of the 7th century A.D., but the second so-called Hilalian invasion of the 11th century was more important. It seems as if most Tuareg were converted to Islam in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. The Northern Tuareg have taken over many new cultural traits from the Arabs who enjoy a high religious prestige. Apart from Islam, the Arabs brought into Tuareg country new breeds of domestic animals, new saddle types and the like, new dwelling types, new methods of food praparation, and new articles of dress. It is clear that the Arabs also influenced Tuareg social organization with the introduction of Ḳoranic inheritance, and their rule of patrilineal succession is adopted among most Southern Tuareg. The Arabs have also played a part in changing Tuareg political systems. New social classes were created with the introduction of Islam, and the words *khalifa* and *eṭṭebel* (*ettebel*) seem to indicate Arab influence in political structure. It is very possible that the instalment ceremony of chiefs, who are presented with a large headcloth, is an Arab custom. Furthermore, the rules of blood-wealth payment in the two groups of Northern Tuareg are of Arab-Islamic origin. – Arab cultural traits have been introduced over an extremely long period of years, and certain traits were apparently first adopted by the Tuareg when their country had been opened up after the European occupation.

(3) The invasion of pastoral camel-breeding Berbers which started at an unknown date in the first 174
centuries of the Christian era. These camel-breeders conquered another Berber-speaking population who lived mainly by goat-breeding. As a result of this conquest arose Tuareg class-division into noble Tuareg and vassals, which in most groups forms the basis of the political system. The first noble camel-breeders came from the east or the north-east, and they may perhaps have introduced certain traits of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, while their techniques of camel-breeding were related to those of the so-called East Hamitic Culture. Noble Tuareg subsisting on camel-breeding have also immigrated to the Sahara in Islamic times owing to the pressure of Arab bedouins from the north. The noble tribes now dominating the two northern groups perhaps descend from *Hawwara* Berbers

174 who very early came under Islamic influence, and it is possible that these noble tribes introduced cultural traits typical of the Arabs.

(4) The Roman occupation of North Africa. The ancestors of certain Tuareg had some contact with the Romans who also penetrated into the northern parts of the present Tuareg country. But the Tuareg seem to have adopted very few culture elements from the Romans. The Tuareg were apparently never Christians.

(5) The Phoenicians. They introduced new cultural traits to North Africa but it seems difficult to sort out in present Tuareg culture those that were introduced by the Phoenicians.

Further back in time we cannot know much about cultural influences. We know that the horse was introduced during a period when the Northern Sahara was strongly influenced by high cultures of the Mediterranean, and we can safely assume that throughout a very long period of the pre-Christian era, when the Sahara had a more humid climate, cultures based on farming and stock-breeding played an important part in these regions. Rock-engravings representing hunting scenes prove that hunting was also once very important for the subsistence of people of these regions.

121 Our knowledge is yet very scarce of the cultures existing in the Sahara in prehistoric times. Nevertheless, I wish to take up in brief the question of the origin of nomadic stock-breeding in the light of Tuareg culture.

Anthropologists have held very different views about the first origin of domestic animals. The theory that stock-breeding originated within a true hunting culture gained many adherents after Hatt had advanced the theory that the reindeer was first domesticated for decoy hunting (cf. Hatt 1918 & 1919). Since then, many German and Austrian scholars have claimed not only that stock-breeding derived from hunting, but also that the first animal to be domesticated was the reindeer so that the stock-breeding based on horses and cattle in Central Asia came later and had reindeer-breeding as its foundation (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924; Schmidt 1951; Flor 1930). It seems as though such extreme viewpoints have now been discarded by most students and even Austrian and German scholars have in recent times dissociated themselves from the theories which were advanced mainly on Schmidt's initiative (cf. Jettmar 1953). There can be little doubt that reindeer-breeding is a fairly recent type of stock-breeding. This was explicitly stated already by Hatt, and though certain scholars even to-day claim that reindeer-breeding reaches back to Mesolithic, or even Paleolithic, times, their arguments cannot be accepted (cf. Nellemann 1961).

Though Hatt never claimed any great age for reindeer-breeding, he believed in an intimate connection between stock-breeding and hunting. In his latest study on the origin of primitive subsistence activities he stated that "It does not seem unlikely that the first domestication of ungulate animals was done by hunters who used their tame animals as decoys in the hunt, and later on developed the use of animals for transport and for dairy purposes, originally without any influence from agriculture" (Hatt 1953, p. 278). Among anthropologists who have recently supported the theory that stock-breeding and hunting are intimately connected activities of subsistence, we should also mention Coon who considers goats and sheep among the oldest domestic animals which were domesticated by hunters even before the cultivation of cereals (Coon 1952, p. 24). However, there are many scholars who do not accept the theory that cultures based on stock-breeding derive from hunting cultures.

433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Sanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–140; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

●174 The question of the origin of North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Sanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the desert, which they might even cross to allow their animals to graze on Sudanese pastures (Ibn 174 Khaldun I, p. 164 f.). Three Berber tribes or tribal groups, namely the Meseta, the Hawwara, and the Zenara, which, according to Ibn Khaldun, lead a pastoral life in Cyrenaica and further east, are stated to practise agriculture in the area between Alexandria and Old Cairo where they sojourn in winter (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 9). However, it would seem as if to most nomads of the northern desert agriculture was not so much practised that it could provide the necessary amount of cereals for the nomads. For, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Arab and Berber pastoralists of these northern regions generally spent the winter in the desert, while in summer they migrated to the Tell regions where they acquired their grain provisions (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 141, II, p. 275 ff., IV, p. 28 f.).

We have no information about agricultural activities among the Tuareg who, throughout the Middle Ages, lived in the very extensive area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Fezzan. Ibn Khaldun says that the Tuareg have camel-breeding as their most important occupation (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 105), and this is confirmed by Edrisi in the case of both Northern and Southern Tuareg. But though Edrisi states that the Tuareg live mainly on camel's milk and meat, certain passages of his book seem to indicate that agricultural products also played a part as food (Edrisi b, p. 10, 41, 67 f.). Ibn Batutah says that the Sultan of Tacadda (Ayr) knew neither wheat nor bread (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 443), which agrees with the fact that even to-day wheat-bread is not common among the people of Ayr, and he says of the Tuareg (the *Bardamah*) who live further south that they live on cow's milk and pounded millet mixed with water (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). This latter dish is doubtless identical with that known as *aṛehara* (Ahaggar) or *aṛejira* (Ayr) among modern Tuareg (cf. p. 245). Information about Tuareg nourishment is also given by Leo Africanus who, like Ibn Batutah, writes about this on the basis of personal experience. Leo says that the Tuareg live exclusively on camel's milk, butter, and meat, and eat no bread (Leo Africanus I, p. 152), but later he states that a Tuareg chief he visited in the desert had provisions of grown cereals and dates (Leo Africanus I, p. 154 f.).

Thus it seems as if agricultural food-products played a certain part for pastoral Tuareg of the Middle Ages. It is very possible that these products were obtained mainly through caravan trading, but the fact that agriculture is not mentioned in connection with the Tuareg of that early time cannot of course be taken as a proof that a primitive type of agriculture was then unknown. The Arab authors do not tell us much about Tuareg economy, and most Arabs who wrote about the Tuareg had no real knowledge of them. The fact that the *Kel Ajjer* practise a primitive type of agriculture in river valleys [241] has not generally been noticed by Europeans travelling in that part of Africa. This form of agriculture, characterized by a type of primitive sowing, is perhaps to be considered very ancient in North Africa. In any event it would seem as if agriculture and stock-breeding during antiquity were closely connected subsistence activities (cf. Bates 1914, p. 30 f., 91 f.). It is also most interesting that the archaeologically 172 known Fayum culture was based upon mixed farming as early as about 5000 B.C. (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934), and the same holds for certain other prehistoric Egyptian cultures of about the same age (cf. Childe 1935, p. 49 ff.). One trait of the Fayum culture, namely the subterranean store-rooms for grain (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934, p. 41 ff., pl. XXV ff.), is almost identical with the underground store-rooms used among the Tuareg. We can add that there is one other feature in Tuareg culture which perhaps point towards a connection between Tuareg culture and agriculture, 172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

● 174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made
175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout
171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' state-
[261] ment that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture 174 which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development [121] of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg 173 traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breed[illegible] came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeolo- 172 gists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is [173] claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type 172 are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern 171 Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adṛaṛ of Tawa, Adṛaṛ of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is 121 intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

172

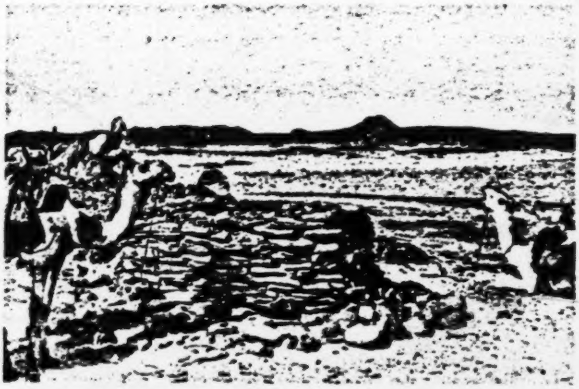

Fig. 298. Circular tomb of the so-called "chouchet" type. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

121 geborenenrechtes" (Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 537). I have stated above (p. 447) that there is not necessarily any connection between particular types of industry and particular types of social organization in North Africa. There are many examples of this in all continents where primitive peoples live. Whether there is historically any connection between patrilineal systems and pastoral stock-breeding
174 cannot be known. It is true that a great many pastoralists are pronounced patrilineal, but there is no doubt that certain pastoralists have adopted true patrilineal systems after their conversion to Islam. We have seen that this holds good for most Southern Tuareg, and it seems to be true also of the Beja pastoralists of Northeast Africa. They are to-day patrilineal, but formerly they were partly or entirely matrilineal, for Maqrizi states that among them a sister's son or a daughter's son possessed inheritance rights (Maqrizi, p. 561). We do not know whether other pastoralists have had matrilineal traits of social organization. Robertson Smith tried to prove that the Ancient Semites had previously been matrilineal (Robertson Smith 1907, p. 29 ff.), but his arguments have not been accepted by later authorities (cf. Pedersen 1958, p. 394). However, we cannot entirely discard the possibility that a kind of matrilineal social organization has formerly existed among pastoralists other than the Tuareg and the Beja, and this would apparently agree with the theory here accepted – that stock-breeding originated within a culture which knew farming, for matrilineal traits are frequently associated with primitive farming cultures. At all events I do not believe that matrilineal traits are to be considered recent among the Tuareg and the Beja, nor do I believe that these peoples were once patrilineal and that they adopted matrilineal affiliation owing to contact with other cultures, for we know that a true patrilineal system does not easily change into a matrilineal one (Murdock 1949, p. 190).

121 This theory is partly based upon the fact that transition from patrilineal to matrilineal systems cannot be shown to have occurred, partly upon the functional argument that matrilineal systems are not always stable because matrilineal rules frequently conflict with paternal love for sons. These conflicts of matrilineal systems have been described in great detail from Melanesia by Malinowski (Malinowski

# Tuareg Time Reckoning

Tuareg time reckoning is mainly based upon the position of the celestial bodies in relation to the 805 earth. Some Tuareg know the twelve months of the Julian Calendar, but most of them are only aware of a few of these names, some of which have acquired the meaning of definite agricultural activities (cf. Fig. 139). When the Tuareg divide the year into twelve months they normally use the system of the Islamic lunar calendar. The names of the twelve lunar months in the northern dialect are the following:— *aẓum* (Ar. *ramḍan*), *tésesé* (Ar. *feṭer*), *ġir muhden* (Ar. *du elḳada*), *tafaské* (Ar. *du elḥajja*), *tamesseḍek* (Ar. *ąchura*), *tallit seṭṭefet* (Ar. *ṣefer*), *tallit ereṭet* (Ar. *rebią awl*), *awhim wa yezzaren* (Ar. *rebią tani*), *awhim wa ilkemen* (Ar. *jumad awl*), *sarat* (Ar. *jumad tani*), *ti n tneslemin* (Ar. *rejeb*), *émezzlhel* (Ar. *chąban*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 982 ff.). These names, known to all Tuareg, [174] would appear to indicate that the lunar calendar among the Tuareg was introduced before Islam. The division of the week into seven days was apparently introduced with Islam for their names are [177] clearly derived from Arabic. They seem to be known to all Tuareg, but play no important part in practical time reckoning. To indicate events that will take place within a few days the Tuareg will say to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, in three days, and so on.

The lunar calendar plays a certain rôle to the Tuareg as it fixes all important religious feasts, and [776] among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is normal for the members of a camp to count the succession of lunar years which are named after the place where the camp was situated during the religious feast of *tafaské*. Accordingly there is no definite system of year reckoning common to all Ayr Tuareg, who do not know the Islamic numbers of the years A. H. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will sometimes talk about *awétay wa-n-Kawchen*, that is "the year when the Ayr Tuareg revolted against the French under the leadership of Kawchen" (1917) and *awétay wa-n-étran*, that is "the year when shooting stars were extraordinarily abundant" (perhaps about 25 years ago).

To the Ahaggar Tuareg the word *awétay* is used in two different ways. It may be used for a lunar year, but it is most frequently used in the sense of "a period between two midwinters", so that the year among the Northern Tuareg is normally to be understood as "a solar year the exact beginning and end of which cannot be stated". Among the Ahaggar Tuareg each such year has its proper name given after the most important event within the year, e.g., the death or the election of an *Amenukal*, the occurrence of good pasture of a particular annual plant, the year of famine, etc. For years of pre-European times the occurrence of raids and warfare also serve as names of years. It may happen that two tribes do not use the same name for a year, but there is a remarkable tendency towards a uniform calendar system for all Ahaggar. The chronology of years is not known equally well by all

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